

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 087 202

48

FL 004 895

AUTHOR Hale, Austin; Watters, David.
TITLE Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns in Selected Languages of Nepal: Part II, Clause.
INSTITUTION Oklahoma Univ., Norman. Summer Inst. of Linguistics.
SPONS AGENCY Institute of International Studies (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
BUREAU NO BR-9-7721
PUB DATE 73
CONTRACT OEC-0-9-097721-2778
NOTE 255p.
AVAILABLE FROM Summer Institute of Linguistics, Huntington Beach, Cal. 92648 (\$5.00; \$28.00 if purchased together with FL 004 896, FL 004 897, and FL 004 898)

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.65 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Comparative Analysis; Consonants; *Descriptive Linguistics; Distinctive Features; *Language Patterns; Language Typology; Morphology (Languages); *Nepali; Phonology; *Phrase Structure; Semantics; Sentence Structure; *Tagmemic Analysis; Transformation Generative Grammar; Uncommonly Taught Languages; Verbs; Vowels

IDENTIFIERS *Nepal; Tamang

ABSTRACT

This volume, the second in a series of four on the languages of Nepal, contains the following papers: "Clause Patterns in Nepali," "Clause Patterns in Tamang," and "A Survey of Clause Patterns." For other volumes in the series, see FL 004 896, FL 004 897, and FL 004 898. (DD)



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Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns

in selected languages of Nepal

II: Clause

ED 087202

FL 0884 893

Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns
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SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS PUBLICATIONS

IN

LINGUISTICS AND RELATED FIELDS

PUBLICATION NUMBER 40

(Part II, Clause)

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Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns in selected languages of Nepal

Part II, Clause

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[The research reported herein was performed under the project direction of Kenneth L. Pike pursuant to contract No. OEC-0-9-097721-2778-(014) with the Institute of International Studies, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and constitutes the final report of research carried out under that contract.]

A Publication of the
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
of the
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
Norman

1973

Complete set
Part II

ISBN 0-88312-042-9
ISBN 0-88312-044-5

Produced by University Press

Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.

Acknowledgments

This volume is the fruit of cooperation and collaboration. We are especially grateful to Dr. T. N. Upraity, Vice Chancellor of Tribhuvan University, for his encouragement, for his dedication to research scholarship, and for the facilities and opportunity to carry out research that have made this volume possible.

We also wish to express our thanks to Dr. P. R. Sharma, Dean of the Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies for his active interest in the work leading to the reproduction of this report.

To Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth L. Pike we wish to express appreciation for nine very stimulating and fruitful months of work together. They have planted seeds which will bear fruit for many years to come.

For the difficult task of typing photo-ready copy from manuscripts which had suffered considerably at the hands of editors, we wish to express our appreciation to Beverly Clinkingbeard and Heiderose Schöttelndreyer.

We all wish to express our appreciation to the Institute of International Studies, U. S. Office of Education, for making it possible for Dr. and Mrs. Pike and other members of the research team to attend the workshop and for helping us in many ways in the preparation of the report.

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Clause Patterns in Nepali

Churamani Bardhu

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The purpose of this paper is to present a portion of a Tagmemic analysis of the clause types of Nepali. Section I presents formulae and examples of the basic contrastive types, together with a discussion of the markers of role and focus which are important for the identification of these types. Section II presents a summary of the inflectional system of the Nepali clause. Section III presents a summary of the system of clause derivations in Nepali. Each of these two latter sections contributes evidence in support of the contrastive status of the basic clause types presented in Section I. They also may be viewed as contributing to a specification of the range of variation manifested within the various clause types. A full Tagmemic description requires an account of distribution on higher levels. This portion of the description of the clause in Nepali has not been attempted within the limits of this paper.

I. BASIC PATTERNS

The basic contrastive clause patterns of Nepali may be classified within a transitivity system defined in terms of the sememic functions, actor, undergoer, and site. The possible combinations of these functions define eight different clause types as presented in Figure 1.

	Und + Sit	Und	Sit	
+Actor	Bi- Transitive	Transitive	Semi- Transitive	Intransitive
-Actor	Bi- Receptive	Receptive	Semi- Receptive	Eventive

Figure 1. Transitivity matrix defined in terms of the three sememic functions, actor, undergoer and site.

In addition to these three sememic functions, there is also a verbal function which has proven useful in the description of the clause patterns in Nepali. This function distinguishes two major kinds of verbs, event verbs and state verbs. Event verbs are those which can, without derivation, stand as part of a chain of events within narrative discourse. Superimposing this distinction upon the classification given in Figure 1 we arrive at the sixteen cell matrix given in Figure 2. Clause type labels in Figure 2 which are enclosed in parentheses are not inherently contrastive clause types in Nepali according to our present analysis.

	Bi- Transitive	Transitive	Semi- Transitive	Intransitive
Event	Bi- Receptive	Receptive	Semi- Receptive	Eventive
	(BiStative)	(Stative)	(Semi- Stative)	(Descrip- tive)
State	Bi- Attributive	Attributive	Semi- Attributive	(Circum- stantial)

Figure 2. Full transitivity matrix, showing inherent clause types in Nepali

The abbreviations for each clause type will consist simply of the upper case letters in the labels within the cells of Figure 2. BiTransitive is thus abbreviated as BT; SemiAttributive, SA; Eventive, E; and so forth. Actor will be abbreviated, Act; undergoer, Und; and site, Sit. For a key to abbreviations see the appendix.

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A. Contrastive Clause Types

There are eleven clause types in Nepali, each of which has at least one sub-type. In this section we give a formula for each major sub-type of each clause type together with examples. The formulae are given in a four-box format discussed elsewhere in this volume. Each of the examples is given in a four-line format. The first line is Nepali. The second is a modified morpheme by morpheme translation, the third labels semantic functions or roles. The fourth is the free English translation.

1. BiTransitive

1a. BiTransitive with Goal and Associative Site.

S	NP (Agt)	IO	NP (Asc/Gol)	O	NP (Umk)	P	VP
+	-----	+	-----	+	-----	+	-----
Act		Sit		Und		BT	

mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
 I-Agt Hari-Gol book Umk give-pst 1 sg
 Act Sit Und BT
 I gave Hari a book.

tes-le mx-sitx pxisa li-io
 he-Agt I-Asc money Umk take-pst 3 sg
 Act Sit Umk BT
 He took money from me.

tes-le guru-sxngx hisab pxd'h-io
 He-Agt teacher-Asc mathematics study-pst 3 sg
 Act Sit Und BT
 He studied mathematics with his teacher.

1b. BiTransitive with Locative Site.

S	NP (Agt)	R	NP (Loc/Anl/Src)	C	NP (+Gol)	P	VP
+	-----	+	-----	+	-----	+	-----
Act		Sit		Und		BT	

mxi-le jhola-ma kitap hal-e'
 I-Agt bag-Loc book Umk put-pst 3 sg
 Act Sit Und BT
 I put the book in a bag.

txi-le khxlti-bat'x pxisa jhik-is
 you-Agt pocket-Src money 'umk take out-pst 3 sg
 Act Sit Und BT
 You took money out of your pocket.

tes-le bhai-lai mx-ka' pxt'ha-io
 he-Agt brother-Gol I-Anl send-pst 3 sg
 Act Und Sit BT
 He sent his brother to me.

2. Transitive

S	NP (Agt)	O	NP (Gol)	P	VP
+	-----	+	-----	+	-----
Act		Und		T	

ram-le hxri-lai kut'-io
 Ram-Agt Hari-Gol hit-pst 3 sg
 Act Und T
 Ram hit Hari.

tes-le bhai-lai maia' gxr-io
 he-Agt brother-Gol love do-pst 3 sg
 Act Und T
 He loved his brother.

2b. Transitive with Unmarked Object

S	NP (Agt)	O	NP (Umk)	P	VP
+	-----	+	-----	+	-----
Act		Und		T	

mx-i-le bhat kha-e'
 I-Agt rice Umk eat-pst 1 sg
 Act Und T
 I ate rice.

mx-i-le kam gxr-e'
 I-Agt work Umk do-pst 1 sg
 Act Und T
 I did the work.

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3. SemiTransitive

3a SemiTransitive with Associative and Animate Locative

S	NP(Umk)	IO	NP(Asc/AnL)	P	VP
Act		Sit		ST	

tio mx-ka' a-io
he Umk I-AnL come-pst 3 sg
Act Sit ST
He came to me.

tio mx-sitx d'xra-io
he Umk I-Asc he afraid of-pst 3 sg
Act IO ST
He became afraid of me.

S	NP(Umk)	R	NP(Ioc)	P	VP
Act		Sit		ST	

tio ghxr-x gx-io
he Umk home-Loc go-pst 3 sg
Act Sit ST
He went home.

tio bhui'ma bxs-io
he Umk ground-Loc sit-pst 3 sg
Act Sit ST
He sat on the ground.

tio gau'-bat'x a-io
he Umk village-Src come-pst 3 sg
Act Sit ST
He came from the village.

tio bxjar-sxmx gx-io
he Umk market-Des go-pst 3 sg
Act Sit ST
He went to market.

tio khola-tirx gx-io
he Umk river-Dir go-pst 3 sg
Act Sit ST
He went towards the river.

3c. SemiTransitive with Unmarked Site.

S	NP(Umk)	R	NP(Loc)	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Act		Sit		ST

tio kat'hmand'u gx-io
he Umk Kathmandu Umk go-pst 3 sg
Act Sit ST
He went to Kathmandu.

4. Intransitive

S	NP(Umk)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Act		I	

tio ha's-io
he Umk laugh-pst 3 sg
Act I
He laughed.

tio to-io
he Umk weep-pst 3 sg
Act I
He wept.

5. BiReceptive

IO	NP(Gol)	S	NP(Umk)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Sit		Und		BR	

mx-lai io jutta mil-io
I-Gol this shoe Umk fit-pst 3 sg
Sit Und BR
This shoe came to fit me.

mx-lai gorkha ramro lag-io
I-Gol Gorkha Umk good feel-pst 3 sg
Sit Und BR
I liked Gorkha.

5a. BiReceptive with Complements.

IO	NP(Gol)	S	NP(Umk)	C	Adj	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Sit		Und		BR			

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mx-lai io bhari gxrunggo bñx-io
 I-Gol this load Umk heavy became-pst 3 sg
 Sit Und BR
 This load became heavy for me.

6. Receptive

S	NP (Umk)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Und		R	

tio xnm-io
 he Umk birth-pst 3 sg
 Und R
 He was born.

tio bhoka-io
 he Umk become hungry-pst 3 sg
 Und R
 He became hungry.

6a. Receptive with Complements

S	NP (Umk)	C	NP/Adj	P	V
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Und		R			

tio mxntri bñx-io
 he Umk minister become-pst 3 sg
 Und R
 He became a minister.

ghxr ramro bñx-io
 house Umk good be made-pst 3 sg
 Und R
 The house is well made.

7. SemiReceptive

7a. SemiReceptive with Goal-marked Site.

IO	NP (Gol)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Sit		SR	

mx-lai cila-io
 I-Gol itch-pst 3 sg
 Sit SR
 I itched.

7b. SemiReceptive with Complements.

IO	NP(Gol)	C	NP/Adj	P	VP
+	+	+	+	+	+
Sit		SR			

mx-lai jad'o bñx-io
 I-Gol cold become-pst 3 sg
 Sit SR
 It became cold for me.

mx-lai bhok laq-io
 I-Gol hunger strike-pst 3 sg
 Sit SR
 I became hungry.

mx-lai mat cxd'h-io
 I-Gol intoxication climb-pst 3 sg
 I became intoxicated.

7c. SemiReceptive with Possessive Site and Complements.

IO	NP(Poss)	C	Nn	P	VP
+	+	+	+	+	+
Sit		SR			

mero buddhi a-io
 I-Pos wisdom come-pst 3 sg
 Sit SR
 I caught on, I got the idea.

mero kxpai dukh-io
 I-Pos head ache-pst 3 sg
 Sit SR
 My head ached.

8. Eventive

C	Adj/Nn	P	VP
+	+	+	+
E			

jado bñx-io
 cold become-pst 3 sg
 E
 It became cold.

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cor lag-io
thief stick-pst 3 sg
E
A theft occurred.

9. BiAttributive

9a. BiAttributive with Goal, Associative and Possessive Site.

IO	NP (Gol/Asc/Pos)	S	NP (Umk)	P	VP
Sit	Und	Und	BA		
*mx-lai I-Gol Sit There is no room for me.	t'hau' place Umk Und	chxi-nx is-neg BA			
mx-sitx I-Asc Sit I have no pen.	kulxm pen Umk Und	chxi-nx is-neg BA			
mero I-Pos Sit I have no bicycle.	saikxl bicycle Umk Und	chxi-nx is-neg BA			
mero I-Pos Pos I have three sons.	tin chora three sons Umk Und	chxn are BA			

9b. BiAttributive with Locative Site.

S	NP (Umk)	R	NP (Loc)	P	VP
Und	Sit	Sit	BA		
ram Ram Umk Und Ram is in Kathmandu.	kat'hmand'u-ma Kathmandu-Loc (ArL) Sit	chx is BA			
mx I Umk Und I am here.	iaha' here Sit	chu am BA			

gxi'd'a nepal-ko junggxl-ma hun-chxn
rhinos Umk Nepal-of forest-ArL generally are
Und Sit BA
There are rhinos in the forests of Nepal.

10. Attributive

10a. Attributive with Adjectival Complement.

S	NP(Umk)	C	Adj	P	VP
Und		A			

kxlxm rato chx
pen Umk red generally is
Und A
The pen is red.

io ghxr taulo ho
this house Umk big is
Und A
This house is big.

mxhx gulio hun-chn
honey Umk sweet generally is
Und A
Honey is sweet.

10b. Attributive with Nominal Complements.

S	NP(Umk)	C	NP	P	VP
Und		A			

ram mero sathi ho
Ram Umk my friend is
Und A
Ram is my friend.

mero kxlxm io ho
my pen Umk this is
Und A
This is my pen.

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11. SemiAttributive

11a. SemiAttributive with Goal Site.

IO	NP(Gol)	C	Adj/NP(Umk)	P	VP
+	-----	+	-----	+	-----
Sit		SA			

mx-lai anxndx chx
 I-Gol happiness is
 Sit SA
 I am happy.

mx-lai niano chx
 I-Gol warm is
 Sit SA
 I am warm, I feel warm.

11b. SemiAttributive with Locative Site.

R	NP(Loc)	C	Adj	P	VP
+	-----	+	-----	+	-----
Sit		SA			

iaha' jad'o chx
 here, cold is
 Sit SA
 It is cold here.

B. Contrastive System

1. Role Markers

It should be clear from the examples given above that the relationship between markers (such as agent (Agt), associative (Asc), goal (Gol) and the like) and sememic functions or roles (such as actor, undergoer and site) is basic to the classification of clause patterns in Nepali. It should also be clear that the pairing of markers with functions differs from clause type to clause type. The sememic interpretation of a given marker depends upon the clause patterns in which it is found. The normal markers for the various sememic functions in each of the clause types in which the functions occur are summarized in Figures 3 through 5. Those cells in which the sememic function under consideration does not occur are marked by three hyphens.

BT Agt	T Agt	ST Umk	I. Umk
BR ---	R ---	SE ---	E ---
BS (Agt)	S (Agt)	SS (Umk)	L (Umk)
BA ---	A ---	SA ---	C ---

Figure 3. Normal actor markers in Nepali. (Parenthesized markers are those in non-basic clause types.)

Actor markers for the basic clause types of Figure 3 can be illustrated as follows. In the following examples, M stands for markers, and R for rôles.

I tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-io
 M Agt Gol Umk pst 3 sg
 R Act Sit Und BT
 He gave Hari a book.

T tes-le bhat kha-io
 M Agt Umk pst 3 sg
 R Act Und T
 He ate rice.

ST tio ghxr-x gx-io
 M Umk Loc pst 3 sg
 R Act Sit ST
 He went home.

I tio ha's-io
 M Umk pst 3 sg
 R Act I
 He laughed.

In certain derived clauses of the stative set, the agent marking of actors is optional.

S tio bhat khan-chx or tes-le bhat khan-chx
 M Umk Umk npst 3 sg Agt Umk npst 3 sg
 He eats rice. He eats rice.

Undergoer Markers

BT	Gol* Umk**	T	Gol* Umk**	ST	---	I	---
BR	Umk	R	Umk	SR	---	E	---
(BS)	Gol* Umk**	(S)	Gol* Umk**	(SS)	---	(D)	---
BA	Umk	A	Umk	SA	---	C	---

Figure 4. Normal undergoer markers in Nepali.

*Occurs with personal nouns and pronouns.

**Occurs with Gol-marked sites.

Undergoer markers for the basic clause types of Figure 4 can be illustrated as follows:

BT tes-le mx-lai pxisa di-io
M Agt Gol Umk pst 3 sg
R Act Sit Und BT
He gave me money.

BT tes-le hxri-lai jel-ma hal-io
M Agt Gol ArL pst 3 sg
R Act Und Sit BT
He put Hari in prison.

T tes-le bhat kha-io
M Agt Umk pst 3 sg
R Act Und T
He ate rice.

T tes-le bhair-lai kut'-io
M Agt Gol pst 3 sg
R Act Und T
He hit his brother.

BR mx-lai io ket'o mxn pxr-io
M Gol Umk pst 3 sg
R Act Und BR
I liked this boy.

R		tio	jxnm-io	
M		Umk	pst 3 sg	
R		Und	I	
		He was born.		
BA		ram-ka	tin chora	chxn
M		Pos	Umk	npst 3 sg
R		Sit	Und	BA
		Ram has three sons.		
A		ram	mero sathi	ho
M		Umk	Umk	npst 3 sg
R		Und	A	
		Ram is my friend.		

Inanimate undergoers are not generally marked. When they are marked they are goal-marked.

BT	Gol Asc AnL ArL Src	T	---	ST	Asc AnL ArL Src Dir Des	I	---
BR	Gol	R	---	SR	Gol AnL ArL Pos	E	---
BS	(---)*	S	(---)✓	SS	(---)*	D	(---)
BA	Gol Asc ArL Pos	A		SA	Gol AnL ArL	C	

Figure 5. Normal site markers. *The site markers for the derived types BS and SS are the same as for their event counterparts BT and ST respectively.

In Nepali there are a number of different kinds of site, each of which is marked in a different way. We will be concerned here with eight of these: goal-site (Gol), associative-site (Asc), source-site (Src), animate-locative site (AnL), area location site (ArL), directional location site (Dir), destination site (Des) and possessive-site (Pos). Goal-site, associative-site, possessive-site and animate locative site are always animate by contrast with location and directional sites which may be either animate or inanimate.² The distribution of the various kinds of sites over the various clause types is shown in Figure 5.

BT		tes-le	mx-lai	kitab	di-io
	M	Agt	Gol	Umk	pst 3 sg
	R	Act	Sit	Und	BT
		He gave me a book.			
BT		tes-le	mx-sitx	pxisa	li-io
	M	Agt	Asc	Umk	pst 3 sg
	R	Act	Sit	Und	BT
		He took money from me.			
BT		tes-le	mx-ka'	pxisa	rakh-io
	M	Agt	AnL	Umk	pst 3 sg
	R	Act	Sit	Und	BT
		He kept his money with me.			
BT		mxi-le	jhola-ma	kitab	hal-e'
	M	Agt	ArL	Umk	pst 3 sg
	R	Act	Sit	Und	BT
		I put the books in the bag.			
BT		tes-le	guru-bat'x	sikchia	grxhxn gxr-io
	M	Agt	Src	Umk	pst 3 sg
	R	Act	Sit	Und	BT
		He got an education from his teacher.			
ST		tio	mx-sitx	a-io	
	M	Umk	Asc	pst 3 sg	
	R	Und	Sit	ST	
		He came to me.			
ST		tio	mx-ka'	a-io	
	M	Umk	AnL	pst 3 sg	
	R	Und	Sit	ST	
		He came to me.			
ST		tio	bhui'-ma	bxs-io	
	M	Umk	ArL	pst 3 sg	
	R	Act	Sit	ST	
		He sat on the floor.			

ST		tio	gau'-bat'x	a-io
M		Umk	Src	pst 3 sg
R		Act	Sit	ST
		He came from the village.		
ST		ram	bxjar-tira	gx-io
M		Umk	Dir	pst 3 sg
R		Act	Sit	ST
		Ram went towards the market.		
ST		ram	ghxr-x	a-io
M		Umk	Des	pst 3 sg
R		Act	Sit	ST
		Ram came home.		
BR		mx lai	io ket'o	mxn pxx-io
M		Gol	Umk	pst 3 sg
R		Sit	Und	BR
		I became fond of this boy.		
SR		mx-lai	cila-io	
M		Gol	pst 3 sg	
R		Sit	SR	
		I itched.		
SR		mx-ka'	jad'o	bhx-io
M		AnL	Umk	pst 3 sg
R		Sit	SR	
		It became cold at my house.		
SR		kot'ha-ma	jad'o	bhx-io
M		ArL	Umk	pst 3 sg
R		Sit	SR	
		I became cold in the room.		
SR		mero	hos	a-io
M		Pos	Umk	pst 3 sg
R		Sit	SR	
		I became conscious.		
BA		mx-lai	io bhari	gxrunngo chx
M		Gol	Umk	npst
R		Sit	Und	BA
		This load is heavy for me.		

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BA		mx-sitx	pxisa	chxi-nx	
	M	Asc	Umk	npst-neg	
	R	Sit	Und	BA	
		I have no money.			
BA		mero sathi		ram-ka'	chx
	M	Umk		AnL	npst
	R	Und		Sit	BA
		My friend is at Hari's place.			
BA		kitab	ghxr-ma	chx	
	M	Umk	ArL	npst	
	R	Und	Sit		
		The book is in the house.			
BA		ram-ka	tin chora	chxn	
	M	Pos	Umk	npst	
	R	Sit	Und	BA	
		Ram has three sons.			
SA		mx-lai	sxnxi	chx	
	M	Gol		npst	
	R	Sit	SA		
		I am well.			
SA		hxri-ka'	jad'o	chx	
	M	AnL		npst	
	R	Sit	SA		
		It's cold at Hari's place.			
SA		kot'ha-ma		jad'o	chx
	M	ArL			npst
	R	Sit	SA		
		It's cold in the room.			

There are other locative sites in Nepali. These are mainly of three types: locative markers which occur with noun phrases such as

mathi	as in	<u>mec</u> <u>mathi</u>	'on top of the bench'
muni	as in	<u>mec</u> <u>muni</u>	'under the bench'
bahirx	as in	<u>ghxr</u> <u>bahirx</u>	'outside the house'
xgad'i	as in	<u>ghxr</u> <u>xgad'i</u>	'in front of the house'
pxchad'i	as in	<u>ghxr</u> <u>pxchad'i</u>	'behind the house'

locative words which occur by themselves as site such as

mathi as in tio mathi gx-io 'He went up.'
 bahirx as in tio bahirx gx-io 'He went out.'
 xgad'i as in tio xgad'i gx-io 'He went ahead.'

and locative words which themselves take locative markers such as

mastirx as in tio mastirx gx-io 'He went upwards.'
 muntirx as in tio muntirx gx-io 'He went downwards.'

2. Focus Markers

We have distinguished four kinds of focus in Nepali:

1) unmarked focus, 2) thematic focus, 3) information focus and 4) emphatic focus. The term unmarked focus is used to refer to the inherent organization of the clause to which no focus marking has applied. In describing the grammatical organization of clauses in unmarked focus, we will speak of grammatical functions such as subject (S), object (O), indirect object (IO), referent (R), complement (C), predicate (P) and peripheral adjuncts (A). All of these functions are either directly or indirectly marked in Nepali.

BT Act	T Act	ST Act	I Act
BR Und	R Und	SR ---	E ---
BS ()*	S ()*	SS ()*	D ()*
BA Und	A Und	SA ---	C ---

Figure 6. Role played by subjects in basic Nepali clauses.
 *Roles played by the stative set are the same as those played by the transitive set from which they are derived. What was originally a subject in BT will remain a subject in BS and so forth.

The presence of a subject in a Nepali clause is marked by an agreement pattern in the verb. This agreement pattern involves person, number and gender. There is also a ranking of roles from among which the subject may be chosen. Two possible sememic functions have been observed for subjects: actor and undergoer. A clause which has an actor and an undergoer will select the actor as subject. A clause which has an undergoer and no actor will select the undergoer as subject. The sememic function of subject in basic clauses is summarized in Figure 6.

These subject roles may be illustrated as follows.

BT	mxi-le I-Agt S Act	hxri-lai hxri-Gol R Sit	kitap book Umk O Und	di-e' give-pst 1 sg P BT
	I gave Hari a book.			
T	tes-le he-Agt S Act	hxri-lai Hxri-Gol O Und	kut'-io hit-pst 3 sg P T	
	He hit Hari.			
ST	ket'o boy Umk S Act	bxjar market Umk R Sit	gx-io go-pst 3 sg P ST	
	The boy went to the market.			
I	tio he Umk S Act	sut-io sleep-pst 3 sg P I		
	He slept.			
BR	mx-lai I-Gol IO Sit	io jutta this shoe Umk S Und	mil-io fit-pst 3 sg P BR	
	This shoe came to fit me.			
R	bha'd'a pot Umk S Und	cuh-io leak-pst 3 sg P R		
	The pot leaked.			

BA	mx-sitx	kxlxm	chx
	I-Asc	pen Umk	is
	R	S	P
	Sit	Und	BA
	I have a pen.		
A	kxlxm	rato	chx
	pen Umk	red	is
	S	C	P
	Und	A	
	The pen is red.		

Objects occur only in BiTransitive and Transitive clauses. Normally an animate object is marked by the goal marker -lai and an inanimate object is unmarked. These object roles may be illustrated as follows.

BT	tes-le	cor-lai	jel-ma	hal-io
	he-Agt	thief-Gol	jail-ArL	put-pst 3 sg
	S	O	R	P
	Act	Und	Sit	BT
	He put the thief in prison.			
BT	mxi-le	tes-lai	pxisa	di-e'
	I-Agt	he-Gol	money Umk	give-pst 1 sg
	S	IO	O	P
	Act	Sit	Und	BT
	I gave him money.			
T	tes-le	bhai-lai	kut'-io	
	he-Agt	brother-Gol	hit-pst 3 sg	
	S	O	P	
	Act	Und	T	
	He hit his brother.			
T	tes-le	bhat	kha-io	
	he-Agt	rice Umk	eat-pst 3 sg	
	S	O	P	
	Act	Und	T	
	He ate rice.			

Sites come in eight of the sixteen cells as shown in Figure 5. Generally speaking they are of two types: 1) indirect object types, which are marked by goal, associative and possessive markers and 2) locational types which are marked by the different locational markers. These sites have been already illustrated by the examples following Figure 5.

Normal Focus. We have observed above that roles such as actor, undergoer and site are marked in Nepali by a set of nominal affixes. In normal cases there is a certain pairing of roles (sememic functions) with focus (grammatical function). This normal pairing is given in Figure 7.

BT Act Und Sit S O {R } {IO }	T Act Und	ST Act Sit S {R } {IO }	I Act S
BR Sit Und IO S	R Und S	SR Sit IO	E
BS Sta Und Sit S O {IO } {R }	S Sta Und S O	SS Sta Sit S {R } {IO }	D Sta S
BA Sit Und {IO } S {R }	A Und S	SA Sit {IO } {R }	C

Figure 7. Normal pairing of sememic functions and grammatical functions in Nepali.

Thematic Focus, Permutation. Thematic focus is a modification of normal focus. We have seen that there is a ranking of roles in normal focus which is reflected both in word order and in the affixes which occur within the verbal phrase. Since the agreement patterns which mark the subject result in the selection of a specific form of the verb even when the noun phrase which is subject is deleted, there will still be traces of the subject left behind in the verb. The clause types SR, E and SA constitute an exception to this statement. These clause types have no subjects and their verbs being impersonal can not be said to contain subject markers. Thematic focus does not involve a change of subject. It involves rather a change of word order. In normal focus the subject is also the theme, and stands in first position. In thematic focus, something other than the subject may be moved to first position and can become the theme. The possible permutations under thematic focus are shown in Figure 8.

BT Act Und Sit Und Act Sit Sit Und Act	T Act Und Und Act	ST Act Sit Sit Act	I Act
BR Sit Und Und Sit	R Und	SR Sit	E
BS Sta Und Sit Und Sit Sta Sit Und Sta	S Sta Und Und Sta	SS Sta Sit Sit Sta	D Sta
BA Sit Und Und Sit	A Und	SA Sit	C

Figure 8. Possible permutations of roles under thematic focus.

The variant ordering of roles may be exemplified as follows.

BT ram-le hxri-lai kitap di-io
 Act Sit Und BT
 Ram gave Hari a book.

BT hxri-lai ram-le kitap di-io
 Sit Act Und BT
 (It was) to Hari (that) Ram gave a book.

BT kitap ram-le hxri-lai di-io
 Und Act Sit BT
 The book (was what) Ram gave to Hari.

Thematic focus, Deletion. Another method of choosing a topic other than the subject is to delete the subject. When any of the roles is expressed it is in focus, but when only the verb phrase is expressed the event or state is in focus. The various possible deletions related to thematic focus may be illustrated as follows.

BT tes-le bhai-lai cit'hi lekh-io
 Act Sit Und BT
 He wrote a letter to his brother.

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BT	bhai-lai	cit'hi	lekh-io
	Sit	Und	BT
	(He) wrote a letter to his brother.		
BT	tes-le	cithi	lekh-io
	Act	Und	BT
	He wrote a letter (to his brother).		
BT	cithi	lekh-io	
	Und	BT	
	(He) wrote a letter (to his brother).		
BT	bhai-lai	lekh-io	
	Sit	BT	
	(He) wrote (a letter) to his brother.		
BT	tes-le	lekh-io	
	Act	BT	
	He wrote (a letter to his brother).		

Thematic Focus, Passive. Passive is another means of altering normal focus. There are two varieties of passive, both involving the deletion of the original subject. In the first variety, to which we shall refer as personal passive, the original object is made the subject of the passive and governs the verb with respect to number, gender and person. In the second variety, to which we shall refer as impersonal passive, there is no resulting subject selection or agreement pattern with the verb. The impersonal verb is always third person singular.

Personal passive may apply only to BiTransitive and Transitive clause types. It may be illustrated as follows.

Active	tes-le mx-lai kitap di-io
	He gave me a book.
Passive	mx-lai kitap di-i-io
	I was given a book.
Active	tes-le mx-lai kut-io
	He hit me.
Passive	mx kut'-i-e'
	I was hit.

Impersonal passive may apply to a wider range of clause types. Impersonal passive involves deletion of the subject and the verb is always inflected for third person singular. This

kind of passive may be exemplified as follows.

Active	mxī-le hxri-lai kitap di-e' I gave a book to Hari.
Passive	hxri-lai kitap di-i-io The book was given to Hari (by me).
Active	mxī-le hxri-lai kut'-e' I hit Hari.
Passive	hxri-lai kut'-i-io Hari was hit (by me).
Active	mx ghxr-x gx-e' I went home.
Passive	ghxr-x gx-i-io (I) went home.
Active	mx sut-e' I slept.
Passive	sut-i-io (I) slept.

Information Focus, Given and New. Halliday, 1970: 162-4 distinguishes two kinds of information focus for English, given and new. We think that the distinction between given and new is relevant for Nepali as well.

A sentence which begins a discourse may consist entirely of new information. In subsequent utterances, however, new information may be much more restricted. In non-initial utterances within a discourse, two positions may be identified. The normal position for theme is sentence-initial position. The normal position for new information is the position immediately preceding the verb. Where only one role precedes the verb, it may function both as theme and as new information. The possible distribution of roles over the focus functions, theme and new is shown in Figure 9. The examples in the cells represent the thematic and information focus variants of the following clause.

hxri-le	mx-lai	kitap	di-io
Act	Sit	Und	BT
Hari gave me a book.			

		New Information					
		Act		Und		Sit	
Theme	Act	hxrile diio Act BT		hxrile kitap diio Act Und BT		hxrile mxlai diio Act Sit BT	
	Und	kitab hxrile diio Und Act BT		kitab diio Und BT		kitab mxlai diio Und Sit BT	
	Sit	mxlai hxrile diio Sit Act BT		mxlai kitap diio Sit Und BT		mxlai diio Sit BT	
	Act						
	Und						
	Sit						

Figure 9. Distribution of focus functions over the three primary sememic functions.

		Second Member				
First Member		-xi	nxi	tx	po	cai'
-xi		-	+	+	+	+
nxi		-	-	+	+	-
tx		+	+	-	+	-
po		-	-	+	-	-
cai'		+	+	+	+	-

Figure 10. Co-occurrence of pairs of emphatic particles within a single clause.

Emphatic Focus, Particles. Another kind of focus, distinct from both thematic focus and information focus is that of emphatic focus. We mention here only one device used to bring about emphatic focus in Nepali, namely that of emphatic particles. The most common particles are -xi, nxi, tx, and po. Our discussion of these will in no way exhaust the shades of meaning they carry.

Generally a single particle will occur only once within a given clause. However, several different particles may at times occur together within a single clause. The possible pairings of emphatic particles is summarized in Figure 10.

The Particle, -xi. The particle, -xi, can be used to emphasize any clause constituent other than the predicate. There are, however, phonological constraints upon the distribution of -xi. It can be suffixed only to words which end in a, x or o. Following words which end in i, u and e, the particle nx is used instead. Though the examples given below are all indicative, this particle occurs quite naturally in interrogative, imperative and optative clauses as well.

mxi-le hxri-lai kitab-xi di-e'
It was a book that I gave to Hari (not something else).

mxi-le Lhat-xi kha-e'
It was rice that I ate (not something else).

tio ghxr-xi gx-io
He went home (not somewhere else).

te-xi ghxr-x gx-io
It was he (and no one else) who went home.

mx-lai gorkh-xi ramro lag-io
It was Gorkha that I really liked.

ghxr ramr-xi bxn-io
The house is reasonably well made.

mx-lai thau'-xi chxi-nx
There is no room for me.

The Particle, nxi. The emphatic particle, nxi occurs everywhere that -xi occurs, as well as after words ending in i, u and e, where -xi does not occur. As has been indicated in Figure 10, nxi also occurs following -xi.

mxi-le hxri-lai kitap nxi di-e'
It was a book that I gave Hari (and not something else).

mxi-le bhat nxi kha-e'
It was rice that I ate (and not something else).

ghxr ramro nxi bxn-io
The house is reasonably well made.

When used with adjectives, nxi and -xi are not emphatic. They serve rather to diminish or moderate the intensity of the adjective, if it is not stressed. This may be illustrated in terms of question-answer sequences such as the following.

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Qu. cia kxsto chx?
How is the tea?

An. mit'h-xi chx.
(Oh,) It tastes fairly good.

Qu. ghxr thulo chx?
Is the house big?

An. ghxr thulo nxi chx
The house is reasonably big.

The Particle, tx. The particle, tx, may follow any clause constituent including the predicate. The post-verbal use of tx is discussed in Section II, Inflected Patterns. This particle can also follow -xi, and nxi.

ram-le tx bhat kha-io
As for Ram he ate rice.

ram-le mxlai pxisa tx di-io
As for the money, yes, Ram did give it to me.

ram-xi tx ha's-io
As for Ram, he laughed.

kxlxm ramr-xi tx chx
As far as the pen is concerned, it is reasonably good.

The Particle, po. The particle, po, may follow any clause constituent except the predicate. It implies a contradiction of an expectation or of a previous statement and is limited to indicative clauses. This particle can follow -xi and nxi and precede tx within a given clause.

tes-le mx-lai pxisa po di-io
Surprisingly enough, he gave me money.

tes-le mx-lai pxis-xi po di-io
Surprisingly he gave me money (and nothing else).

tes-le tx mx-lai pxisa nxi po di-io
He gave money (and nothing else) to me (and to no one else).

io kxlxm mero po tz
(Contrary to what you think) this pen is mine (not yours).

The Particle, cai'. The particle, cai', functions both as classifier and as a focus device.

io cai' ghxr ramro chx
This particular house is good.

tes-le mx-lai tio cai' kitap di-e-nx
He did not give me that particular book.

xrko cai' mero sathi ho
The other one is my friend.

II. INFLECTED PATTERNS

A. Inflected Categories

Clause inflection in Nepali is taken as synonymous with verb phrase inflection. Verb phrase inflection may be viewed either from a grammatical or from a sememic point of view. From a sememic point of view we wish to explore those categories which relate the participants to the predication (person, number, gender, agreement, and honorific grade) and to focus (voice); those categories which identify the predication as a given kind of speech act (mood) with a given relation to actual occurrence (modality, including both modals and negation) at a given time (tense) with a given distribution over time (aspect) and with a given evaluation supplied by the speaker (editorials and attitudinals).

From a grammatical point of view we wish to add to these sememic categories any other category which is morphologically marked within the verb. For our present purposes this adds only the transitive addition to our list. Our discussion of the transitive addition (Ta) in this section is limited to a presentation of the verb morphology involved, since sememically we view the transitive addition as a derivation and not as an inflection.

Grammatically speaking, clause inflection may be described as the possible range of structures within the verb phrase (taking verb phrase in its narrow sense and not as synonymous with greater predicate). A schematic representation of verb phrase structure is presented in Figure 11.

Mood. Mood does not appear in Figure 11 as a constituent of the verb phrase. The selection of the constituents from Figure 11 which can actually occur in a given verb phrase, however, is dependent in part upon the mood of the clause. There are four moods in Nepali: declarative (or indicative), interrogative, optative, and imperative.

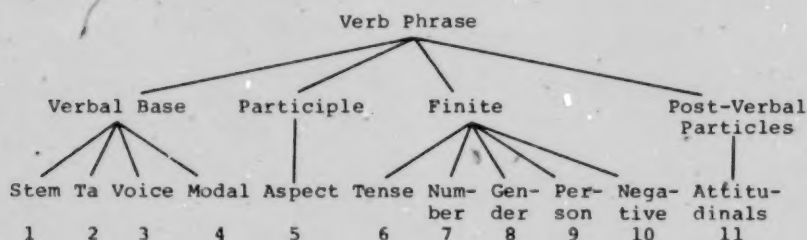


Figure 11. Schematic representation of inflectional elements within the Nepali verb phrase.

Voice There are two voices in Nepali, active and passive. There are two kinds of passive, personal and impersonal. Passive also involves derivation and will thus be discussed further in Section III.

Modals Modals may be identified grammatically as verbal auxiliaries. Semantically they perform a modality function since when they are added to a clause the clause ceases to be a positive assertion of an actual event. The meanings expressed are those of permission, obligation, duration, willingness and the like. Those modals which allow the addition of roles will be treated again in Section III.

Aspects and Finite Categories These categories are typically expressed by portmanteau morphemes. Participles, which express aspect when accompanied by auxiliaries, express both tense and aspect when used alone. Due to the portmanteau nature of the inflectional morphemes within these systems, we will make heavy use of charts and paradigms within this section. Negatives are grouped with finite categories in Figure 11 because of the effect the negative morpheme has upon the other morphemes associated with the finite categories. A given person and number will be expressed differently in negative verb phrases from the way it is expressed in the corresponding positive verb phrases.

B. Inflectional System

In presenting the inflectional system of the Nepali verb phrase, our discussion is organized to reflect the grammatical surface structure of the Nepali clause. We begin in Section 1

with a paradigm of mood and the finite system. To this we add a paradigm for the higher honorific grades. In Section 2 we move out from this central core of verb phrase surface structure to examine briefly the aspects and their associated copular constructions. In Section 3 we consider those modals which are least likely to be considered complement verbs in Nepali. In Section 4 we consider the negative paradigms for both normal and higher honorific grades which are parallel to the positive paradigm given in Section 1. Finally, in Section 5 we reach the outer limit of our discussion with an illustrated tabulation of post-verbal particles.

1. Mood and Finite System

There are four moods in Nepali: declarative, interrogative, optative and imperative. The declarative and interrogative moods allow inflection for all persons, numbers, genders and for three tenses, past, non-past and conditional.³ Neither the optative nor the imperative inflect for tense and the imperative is restricted to second person. Figure 12 summarizes the inflectional endings for mood and finite system within the normal and familiar grades.

Any clause can be inflected for declarative mood. However, there are certain clauses which do not occur in the past tense. Any clause which is in the declarative can be changed to the interrogative just by adding a question word or question intonation. The paradigm which follows is in the declarative.

1 sg m,f	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e' I gave Hari a book.
1 pl m,f	hami-hxru-le hxri-lai kita di-eu' We gave Hari a book.
2nor sg m	txi-le hxri-lai kitap di-is You gave Hari a book.
2nor pl m,f	timi-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-eu You gave Hari a book.
3nor sg m	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-is He gave Hari a book.
3nor sg h	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-i She gave Hari a book.

			Declarative/Interrogative			Optative	Imperative*
Person	Number	Gender	T e n s e				
			Past	Non-past	Conditional		
1	sg	m, f	-e'	-chu	-u'la	-u'	
	pl	m, f	-eu'	-chxu'	-xu'la	-xu'	
2nor	sg	m	-is	-chxs	-las	-es	Ø
		f	-is	-ches	-lis	-es	Ø
	pl	m, f	-eu	-chxu	-xula	-e	-O -x
2fam	sf	m	-eu	-chxu	-ula	-e	-u -x
		f	-eu	-cheu	-uli	-e	-u -x
	pl	m, f	-eu	-chxu	-ula	-e	-o -x
3nor	sg	m	-io	-chx	-la	-os	
		f	-i	-che	-li	-os	
	pl	m, f	-e	-chxn	-lan	-un	
3fam	sg	m	-e	-chxn	-lan	-un	
		f	-in	-chin	-lin	-un	
	pl	m, f	-e	-chxn	-lan	-un	

Figure 12. Inflectional endings for mood and the finite systems in Nepali. *The first form of the imperative is used with verbal bases ending in vowels and the second form, -x, is used with those ending in consonants.

3nor pl m, f tini-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-e
They gave Hari a book.

3fam sg f tin-le hxri-lai kitap di-in
She gave Hari a book.

1 sg m, f mx hxri-lai kitap din-chu
I give Hari a book.

1 pl m, f hami hxri-lai kitap din-chxu
We give Hari a book.

2nor sg m, tx' hxri-lai kitap din-chxs
You give Hari a book.

- 2nor sg f tx' hxri-lai kitap din-ches
You (f) give Hari a book.
- 2fam sg m timi-hxru hxri-lai kitap din-chxu
You (pl) give Hari a book.
- 2fam sg f timi hxri-lai kitap din-cheu
You (f) give Hari a book.
- 2fam pl m,f timi-hxru hxri-lai kitap din-chxu
You give Hari a book.
- 3nor sg m tio hxri-lai kitap din-chx
He gives Hari a book.
- 3nor sg f tio hxri-lai kitap din-che
She gives Hari a book.
- 3nor pl m,f tini-hxru hxri-lai kitap din-chxn
They give Hari a book.
- Conditional
- 1 sg m,f mx hxri-lai kitap diu'-la
I will give Hari a book.
- 1 pl m,f hami hxri-lai kitap di-xu'la
We will give Hari a book.
- 2nor sg m tx' hxri-lai kitap de-las
You will give Hari a book.
- 2nor sg f tx' hxri-lai kitap de-lis
You (feminine) will give Hari a book.
- 2nor pl m,f timi-hxru hxri-lai kitap de-ula
You (plural) will give Hari a book.
- 2fam sg m 'timi hxri-lai kitap de-ula
You will give Hari a book.
- 2fam sg f timi hxri-lai kitap de-uli
You will give Hari a book.
- 2fam pl m,f timi-hxru hxri-lai kitap de-ula
You will give Hari a book.
- 3nor sg m tes-le hxri-lai kitap de-la
He will give Hari a book.

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3nor sg f	tes-le hxri-lai kitap de-li She will give Hari a book.
3nor pl m,f	tini-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap de-lan tini-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-nxn They will give Hari a book.
3fam sg m	tin-le hxri-lai kitap de-lan He will give Hari a book.
3fam sg f	tin-le hxri-lai kitap de-lin She will give Hari a book.
3fam pl m,f	(Same as 3nor pl m,f)

Interrogative Mood

These declarative clauses can be changed to interrogative by adding a question word or a question intonation. Consider the following examples.

1 sg m,f	ke mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e' Did I give Hari a book?
1 sg m,f	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e' Did I give Hari a book?

Optative Mood

Any declarative clause can be changed to the optative mood by adding markers given in Figure 12, which are the same regardless of tense or gender.

1 sg	mx hxri-lai kitap di-u' Should I give Hari a book?
1 pl	hami hxri-lai kitap de-xu' Let us give Hari a book.
2nor sg	txi-le hxri-lai kitap di-es It would be nice if you would give Hari a book.
2nor pl	timi-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-e It would be nice if you (pl) would give Hari a book.

2fam sg	timi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e It would be nice if you would give Hari a book.
2fam pl	timi-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-e It would be nice if you (pl) would give Hari a book.
3nor sg	tes-le hxri-lai kitap de-os It would be nice if he would give Hari a book.
3nor pl	tini-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap de-un It would be nice if they would give Hari a book.
3fam sg	tin-le hxri-lai kitap di-un It would be nice if he/she would give Hari a book.
3fam pl	(Same as 3nor pl)

Imperative Mood

Only BT, T, ST, I and R clauses occur in the imperative mood. The imperative is in second person and is the same in form regardless of gender.

2nor sg	hxri-lai kitap de-ø de-ø Give Hari a book!
2nor pl	hxri-lai kitap de-o Give Hari a book!
2fam sg	hxri-lai kitap de-u Give Hari a book!
2fam pl	(Same as 2nor pl)

The inflectional system for the honorific grades is different from that for the non-honorific grades.⁴ Since the honorific grades are expressed by embedding, the verb of the original clause is put into the non-finite form by adding the nominalizer -nu to the verb and by adding the verb bhx-iø for honorific 1 and -i bxxsi for honorific 2. Figure 13 summarizes the inflectional system of the honorific grades in Nepali.

Person	Declarative/Interrogative			Optative	Imperative
	Tense				
	Past	Non-past	Conditional		
2hon 1	-nu bñx-io	-nu hun-chx	-nu ho-la		-nu hos/ -nus/-nos
3hon 1	-nu bñx-io	-nu hun-chx	-nu ho-la		-nu hos/ -nus/-nos
2hon 2	-i bñksi-io	-i bñksin-chx	-i bñksie-la		-i bñksi-ios
3hon 3	-i bñksi-io	-i bñksin-chx	-i bñksie-la		-i bñksi-ios

Figure 13. Verbal inflection for honorific grades in Nepali.

In the honorific grades the optative form is not used as an optative but rather as an imperative. The possible honorific forms are given below.

2hon 1 sg	txpai'-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-io You gave Hari a book.
2hon 1 pl	txpai'-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-io You (pl) gave Hari a book.
2hon 2 sg	hxjur-le hxri-lai kitap di-i bxks-io You gave Hari a book.
2hon 2 pl	hxjur-hxru-ke hxri-lai kitap di-i bxksi-io You (pl) gave Hari a book.
3hon 1 sg	uha'-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-io He gave Hari a book.
3hon 1 pl	uha'-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-io They gave Hari a book.
3hon 2 sg	bua-le hxri-lai kitap di-i bxksi-io Father gave Hari a book.
3hon 2 pl	bua-hxru-le hxri-lai kitap di-i bxksi-io Father (and others) gave Hari a book.

2. Aspects and Copulas

The aspects have to do with the distribution of events or states of affairs in time. Certain of the aspects are expressed by means of a combination of aspect markers and copulas. Figure 14 shows the possible pairings of copulas with aspect markers. The letters in Figure 14 refer to the examples which follow.

	Past	Stative Non-Past	Conditional Speculative	Assertive	Cognitive	Generic
Copular uses	a	b	c	d	e	f
Auxiliary uses						
Progressive	g	h	i		j	
Perceptive			k	l	m	
Perfective	n	o	p	q	r	s
Intentional	t	u	v	w	x	

Figure 14. Possible pairings of aspect markers with copulas in Nepali.

- a. kxlxm ramro thi-io
The pen was good.
- b. kxlxm ramro chx
The pen is good.
- c. kxlxm ramro ho-la
The pen may be good.
- d. kxlxm ramro ho
The pen is a good one.
- e. kxlxm ramro rxhechx
The pen (turned out) to be a good one.
- f. esto kxlxm ramro hun-chx
This kind of pen is generally good.

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- g. tio ja'dxi thi-io
He was going.
- h. tio ja'dxi chx
He is going. ,
- i. tio ja'dxi ho-la
He may be going.
- j. tio ja'dxi rxhechx
It turned out that he was on the way.
- k. tio ja'do ho-la
He probably would go (if circumstances allowed).
- l. tio ja'do ho
He would have gone./He would go (if he gets the chance).
- m. tio ja'do rxhechx
(I found that) he used to go.
- n. tio gx-eko thi-io
He had gone.
- o. tio gx-eko chx
He has gone.
- p. tio gx-eko ho-la
He may have gone./He has probably gone.
- q. tio gx-eko ho
It is true that he has gone.
- r. tio gx-eko rxhechx
(I found that) he had gone.
- s. tio gx-eko hun-chx
He (generally) will have gone (by then).
- t. tio ja-ne thi-io
He would have gone.
- u. tio ja-ne chx
He will go.
- v. tio ja-ne ho-la
He might go.
- w. tio ja-ne ho
He is one who goes.

- x. tio ja-ne rxhechx
I found that he will go.

3. Modals⁵

Modal verbs modify the assertion of the main verb. Modal verbs in Nepali appear in general to involve embedding. We have noted two kinds of embedding: that which induces double function in certain noun phrases of the clause and that which does not. We limit our discussion at this point to modal verbs which do not induce double function. Figure 15 summarizes forms and functions of this latter kind of modal verb.

Forms	Functions
-dxi gxr-	Continuative ('keep on')
-i chad'-	Obstinative ('do inspite of, anyway')
-i hal-	Immediate ('do right away')
-i rxhx-, -i rakh-	Durative ('keeps doing')
-i sxx-	Completive ('already did')
-nx cah-, -nx khoj-	Volitive ('desire to, want to')
-nx pa-	Opportunitive ('get to')
-nx sxx-	Ability ('able to')
-nx thal-	Inceptive ('begin to')
-ne gxr-	Habitual ('do habitually')

Figure 15. Modal verbs in Nepali which do not induce double function.

Basic Form:	tes-le mx-lai kitap di-io He gave me a book.
Continuative:	tio mx-lai kitap di'dxi gxr-chx He keeps on giving me books.
Obstinative:	tes-le kitap di-i chad'-io He gave a book anyway.
Immediate:	tes-le kitap di-i hal-io He handed the book right over.
Durative:	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-i rxhxn-chx He keeps on giving books to Hari

	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-i rakh-chx He keeps on giving books to Hari.
Completive:	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-i sxk-io He has already given a book to Hari.
Volitive:	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx cah-io He wanted to give Hari a book.
	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx khoj-io He sought to give Hari a book.
Opportunitive:	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx pa-io He got (an opportunity) to give Hari a book.
Ability:	tcs-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx sxk-io He was able to give Hari a book.
Inceptive:	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx thal-io He began to give Hari a book.
Habitual:	tio hxri-lai kitap di-ne gxr-chx He gives Hari books (habitually).

4. Negation

The negation of an event or a state is expressed by means of a negative affix, *-nx*. Once the negative has been chosen, however, a whole new paradigm of forms for mood and the finite system is required. Figure 16 is thus the negative counterpart of Figure 12.

The sample of negative-positive pairs, which follows shows the relation between Figures 12 and 16.

1 sg m,f	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e' (positive) I gave Hari a book.
	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-i-nx (negative) I did not give Hari a book.
2nor sg m,f	txi'-le hxri-lai kitap di-is (positive) You gave Hari a book.
	txi'-le hxri-lai kitap di-i-nxs (negative) You did not give Hari a book.

			Declarative/Interrogative			Optative	Imperative*
Person	Number	Gender	Tense				
			Past	Non-past	Conditional		
1	sg	m, f	-i-nx	-nx	-oi-nx	nx-V-u'	
	pl	m, f	-e-nx-u'	-nx-u'	-oi-nx-u'	nx-V-u'	
2nor	sg	m, f	-i-nx-s	-nx-s	-oi-nx-s	nx-V-es	nx-V
	pl	m, f	-e-nx-u	-nx-u	-oi-nx-u	nx-V-e	nx-V-o / -x
2fam	sg	m	-e-nx-u	-nx-u	-oi-nx-u	nx-V-e	nx-V-u / -x
	pl	f m, f	-i-nx-u	-nx-u	-oi-nx-u	nx-V-e	nx-V-u / -x
	pl	m, f	-e-nx-u	-nx-u	-oi-nx-u	nx-V-e	nx-V-o / -x
3nor	sg	m	-e-nx	-nx	-oi-nx	nx-V-os	
		f	-i-nx	-nx	-oi-nx	nx-V-os	
	pl	m, f	-e-nx-n	-nx-n	-oi-nx-n	nx-V-un	
3fam	sg	m	-e-nx-n	-nx-n	-oi-nx-n	nx-V-un	
		f	-i-nx-n	-nx-n	-oi-nx-n	nx-V-un	
	pl	m, f	-e-nx-n	-nx-n	-oi-nx-n	nx-V-un	

Figure 16. Negative paradigm of mood and the finite system in Nepali. *In the optative and imperative columns, V stands for 'verb stem'. Verb stems ending in vowels take the imperative suffix -o, -u; those ending in consonants take the imperative suffix -x.

3nor sg m tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-io (positive)
You gave Hari a book.

txi'-le hxri-lai kitap di-i-nxs (negative)
You did not give Hari a book.

Corresponding to Figure 13, there is also a high honorific paradigm for the negative. This paradigm is summarized in Figure 17.

Person	Declarative/Interrogative				
	Past	Non-past	Conditional	Optative	Imperative
2hon 1	-nu bhx-e-nx	-nu hun-chx	-nu ho-oi-nx		nx-V-nu hos
3hon 1	-nu bhx-e-nx	-nu hun-chx	-nu ho-oi-nx		nx-V-nu hos
2hon 2	-i bxksi-e-nx	-i bxksin-chx	-i bxksi-oi-nx		nx-V-i bxksi-ios
3hon 2	-i bxksi-e-nx	-i bxksin-chx	-i bxksi-oi-nx		nx-V-i bxksi-ios

Figure 17. Negative inflection for honorific grades.

The sample of the positive-negative pairs which follows shows the relation between Figures 13 and 17.

- 2hon 1 sg txpai'-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-e-nx
(negative)
You did not give Hari a book.
- txpai'-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu bhx-io
(positive)
You gave Hari a book.
- 2hon 2 sg hxjur-le hxri-lai kitap di-i bxksi-io
(positive)
You gave Hari a book.
- hxjur-le hxri-lai kitap di-i bxksi-e-nx
(negative)
You did not give Hari a book.

It should be noted that negation is possible both within the finite system and within the aspect system. Where both systems are negated the semantic result is positive as may be illustrated by the following examples.

tio ghxr-x gx-eko ho
It is true that he has gone home.

tio ghxr-x gx-eko hoi-nx
It is not true that he has gone home.

tio ghxr-x nx-gx-eko hoi-nx
It is not true that he has not gone home.

5. Post Verbal Particles

Particles which follow the verbal phrase are referred to as post verbal particles. Included here are various particles expressing affirmation, interrogation, disclaimer, speculation, and the like. All of these function in one way or another to mark the attitude of the speaker. They may in general occur with all clause types with the exception that there is a persuasive particle which occurs only with imperative clauses and therefore can not occur with clause types for which there is no imperative, such as E and S clauses. Figure 18 lists the post verbal particles under consideration here.

		Declarative	Interrogative	Optative	Imperative
Question intonation			g		
Alternative question	ki		h		
Tag questions	rx		i		
Content questions	hx'		j		
Affirmative tag	hx ki	a			
Intensifier	ni	b		l	q
Assertive	hxi	c		m	r
Disclaimer	re	d		n	s
Emphatic	tx		k	o	t
Persuasive	nx			p	u
Speculative	hola	e			
Supposition	kiare	f			

Figure 18. Forms and functions of the post verbal particles.

Declarative examples

- a. To affirm a statement

tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io hx-ki?
He gave Hari a book, did
he not?

- b. To intensify an assertion

tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io ni.
He gave Hari a book, you
know.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| c. To affirm a statement | tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io <u>hxi</u> .
He gave Hari a book,
right? |
| d. To disclaim responsibility | tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io <u>re</u> .
He is said to have given
Hari a book. |
| e. To mark a speculation | tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io <u>ho-la</u>
He may have given Hari a
book. |
| f. To express an assumption | tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io <u>kiare</u>
I think that he gave Hari
a book. |

Interrogative examples

- | | |
|---|---|
| g. To interrogate (with high rising intonation) | tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io?
Did he give Hari a book? |
| h. In alternative questions | tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io <u>ki</u> ?
Did he give Hari a book
or didn't he? |
| i. To elicit confirmation | tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io <u>rx</u> ?
He didn't really give
Hari a book, did he? |
| j. In content questions | tes-le hxri-lai ke di-io
<u>hx'</u> ?
What did he give Hari? |
| k. To focus on a state or event | tes-le hxri-lai kitap
di-io <u>tx</u> ?
Did he give Hari a book?
(He should have.) |

Optative examples

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| l. To intensify | hxri-lai kitap di-es ni
You really ought to give
Hari a book, you know. |
|-----------------|---|

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| m. To strengthen a request | hxri-lai kitap di-es <u>hxi</u> .
Give Hari a book, O.K.? |
| n. To disclaim responsibility | tes-le hxri-lai kitap
de-os <u>re</u> .
Someone thinks it would
be nice if he gave Hari a
book. |
| o. To focus on a predicate | tio ghxr-x ja-os <u>tx</u> .
In that case, let him go
home. |
| p. To focus on a predicate | tio ghxr-x ja-os <u>nx</u> .
Let him go home. |

Imperative examples

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| q. To strengthen a command | cit'hi khxsal ni
You really ought to mail
this letter, you know. |
| r. To strengthen a request | bholi a-u <u>hxi</u> .
Do come tomorrow. |
| s. To disclaim responsibility | ghxr-x ja <u>re</u> .
Someone said you should
go home. |
| t. To focus on a predicate | eta ai-jx <u>tx</u> .
Do come here! |
| u. To persuade | eta ai-jx <u>nx</u> .
Do come here! |

III. DERIVED PATTERNS

Associated with every basic contrastive pattern is a set of derived variants which are related to the basic pattern by derivational rules. The purpose of this section is to explore the derived variants of basic patterns in Nepali. In Section A, Derivational Rules, we discuss informally a number of the rules by means of which basic patterns are mapped onto their respective ranges of derived variants. In Section B, Derivational System, we present constraints upon the derivational histories of derived clauses and illustrate the derivational process.

A. Derivational Rules

Derivational rules are of two kinds, those that are non-contrastive in that they optionally delete various clause constituents without introducing further distinctive meanings, and those that are contrastive in that they change the basic structure in some way. Non-contrastive derivations in general express the minus option of a plus-minus constituent. Contrastive derivations change the structure of a clause in ways other than optional deletion. There are no obligatory derivations. All derivational rules apply optionally. We consider first the non-contrastive derivational rules.

1. Non-Contrastive Derivations

We consider here three non-contrastive derivations: actor deletion, undergoer deletion, and site deletion. Since a clause is not basic unless it has its full complement of nuclear roles, the minus option of optional nuclear roles is expressed as a non-contrastive deletion. Actor deletion may be illustrated in terms of sentences like the following.

BT	Basic	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-io He gave Hari a book.
	nAd	hxri-lai kitap di-io (He) gave Hari a book.
T	Basic	tes-le mx-lai kut'-io He hit me.
	nAd	mx-lai kut'-io (He) hit me.
ST	Basic	tio ghxr-x gx-io He went home.
	nAd	ghxr-x gx-io (He) went home.
I	Basic	tio ha's-io He laughed.
	nAd	ha's-io (He) laughed.

Actors, when present in a clause pattern, are generally also subjects in Nepali. For this reason, deleted actors are often at least partly recoverable in terms of the agreement pat-

terms marked in the verb. Actor deletion can also be accomplished by means of a contrastive derivation, the passive. Two varieties of passive, personal and impersonal are discussed in the following section.

Undergoer deletion may be illustrated as follows.

BT	Basic	hxri-le mx-lai kitap di-io Hari gave me a book.
	nUd	hxri-le mx-lai di-io Hari gave (it) to me.
I	Basic	tes-le hxri-lai kut'-io He hit Hari.
		tes-le kut'-io He hit (him).
BR	Basic	mx-lai io jutta mil-io This shoe came to fit me.
	nUd	mx-lai mil-io (It) came to fit me.
R	Basic	tio birami bhx-io He became ill.
	nUd	birami bhx-io (He) became ill.
BA	Basic	mx-sitx pxisa chx I have some money (with me).
	nUd	mx-sitx chx (It) is with me. I have (it).

When undergoers are deleted in Nepali, they often leave traces behind which indicate that they are present in the underlying patterns. In BiTransitive and Transitive clauses, the agent marking of the actor is one such trace. Actors in Nepali are agent marked only in patterns that also have undergoers. In BiReceptive, Receptive, BiAttributive and Attributive clauses the undergoer is subject and thus leaves its trace in the form of an agreement pattern in the verb.

Site deletion may be illustrated as follows.

BT	Basic	tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-io He gave Hari a book.
----	-------	---

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	nSd	tes-le kitap di-io He gave a book (to someone).
ST	Basic	tio ghxr-x gx-io He went home.
	nSd	tio gx-io He went.
BR	Basic	mx-lai io jutta mil-io This shoe came to fit me.
	nSd	io jutta mil-io This shoe came to fit (me).
SR	Basic	mx-lai joro a-io I had an attack of fever.
	nSd	joro a-io Fever came.
BA	Basic	mx-sitx kxlxm chxi-nx I have no pen (with me).
	nSd	kxlxm chxi-nx There is no pen.
SA	Basic	bhitrx jad'o chx It is cold inside.
	nSd	jad'o chx It is cold.

When sites are deleted in Nepali no apparent trace is left behind since sites do not become subjects. In some senses sites may be less nuclear than actors and undergoers.

2. Contrastive Derivation

Contrastive derivational rules in Nepali change the structure of basic clause patterns by (1) adding new roles, (2) deleting roles, (3) embedding one clause within another structure, and (4) shifting a clause from one discourse category (such as event) to another (such as state)⁶. Rule a is an addition rule. Rules b through e are embedding rules which add a role. Rules f and g are deletion rules. Rules i through n are embedding rules. Rules o and p are shifting rules.

a. Transitive addition, thematic vowel a (Ta). This rule applies primarily to clauses with verbs, the stems of which end in consonants. In most cases it adds the vowel a to the stem. To some verbs -al is added. There are also some verb stems with the vowel x to which this rule may apply by shifting x to a. The effect of this rule is to allow the addition to the clause of an actor which is also an agent-marked subject. The fact that this addition is accompanied by verbal marking is evidence of the contrastive nature of this derivation.

BT	Basic	tes-le mx-lai eut'a kxtha bhn-io He told me a story.
	Ta	hxri-le tes-lai eut'a kxtha bhn-a-io Hari caused him to tell a story.
T	Basic	tes-le bhat kha-io He ate rice.
	Ta	mxi-le tes-lai bhat khu-a-e' I had him eat rice (I fed him).
ST	Basic	mx bhui'-ma bxs-e' I sat on the ground.
	Ta	tes-le mx-lai bhui'-ma bxs-al-io He seated me on the ground.
I	Basic	mx ha's-e' I laughed.
	Ta	tes-le mx-lai hx's-a-io He made me laugh.
BR	Basic	mx-lai io jutta mil-io The shoe came to fit me.
	Ta	hxri-le mx-lai io jutta mil-a-io Hari made the shoe fit me.
R	Basic	kxmij suk-io The shirt dried.
	Ta	tes-le kxmij suk-a-io He dried the shirt.
SR	Basic	mx-lai bhok lag-io I became hungry.

Ta ex-le mx-lai bhok lxg-a-io
It gave me an appetite.

E Basic pani pxr-io
It rained.

Ta es-le pani par-io
It made it rain.

b. Transitive embedding, gxra- / bxna suppletion (Ts).
This rule applies only to the Receptive set of patterns (BR, R, SR, E). Furthermore, it applies only to those Receptive set of patterns which have the sequence, complement followed by the verb, bhx-. This rule replaces bhx- with gxra- or bxna-, and adds an actor which also functions as agent-marked subject.

BR Basic mx-lai bhari gxrungo bhx-io
The load became heavy for me.

Ts es-le mx-lai io bhari gxrungo bxn-a-io
This made the load heavy for me.

R Basic tio raja bhx-io
He became king.

Ts jxnta-le es-lai raja bxn-a-e
The people made him king.

SR Basic mx-lai jad'o bhx-io
I felt cold.

Ts es-le mx-lai jad'o gxra-io
It made me cold.

c. Transitive embedding, -ne gxra- / -ne bxna- insertion (Ti).
This rule applies to all event patterns (BT, T, ST, I, BR, R, SR, E). The verb is marked by the insertion of -ne gxra- or -ne bxna- between the stem and finite ending. Some verbs allow the insertion of -nx hal- or -nx lxga- as well. A new actor is added which is also the agent-marked subject.

BT Basic hxri-le bakxs-ma kitap hal-io
Hari put the book in the box.

Ti tes-le hxri-lai bakxs-ma kitap halne gxra-io
He made Hari one who puts Books in boxes.

T	Basic	hxri-le bhat kha-io Hari ate rice.
	Ti	tes-le hxri-lai khat kha-ne gxra-io He made Hari one who eats rice. (He made Hari a rice-eater).
ST	Basic	hxri ghxr-x gx-io Hari went home.
	Ti	tes-le hxri-lai ghxr-x ja-ne gxra-io He made Hari one who goes home.
I	Basic	hxri ha's-io Hari laughed.
	Ti	tes-le hxri-lai ha's-ne gxra-io He made Hari one who laughs.
BR	Basic	mx-lai io ghxr mxn pxx-io I liked this house.
	Ti	tes-le mx-lai io ghxr mxn pxx-ne gxra-io He made me one who likes this house.
R	Basic	hxri mxntri bhx-io Hari became a minister.
	Ti	tes-le hxri-lai mxntri hu-ne bxna-io He made Hari one who has become a minister.
SR	Basic	hxri-lai cila-io Hari itched.
	Ti	tes-le hxri-lai cila-une gxra-io He made Hari one who itches.
E	Basic	pani pxx-io It rained.
	Ti	tes-le pani pxx-ne gxra-io He made it rain.

d. Causative embedding, -nx lxga- insertion (Cv). This rule applies to the major rule set (BT, T, ST, I, R). The verb is marked by the insertion of -nx lxga- between the stem and finite ending. A new actor, which is also agent-marked subject, is added.

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BT	Basic	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e' I gave Hari a book.
	Cv	tes-le mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-nx lxga-io He caused me to give Hari a book.
T	Basic	tes-le hxri-lai kut'io He hit Hari.
	Cv	mxi-le tes-lai hxri-lai kut'-nx lxga-e' I caused him to hit Hari.
ST	Basic	hxri ghxr-x gx-io Hari went home.
	Cv	mxi-le hxri-lai ghxr-x ja-nx lxga-e' I caused Hari to go home.
I	Basic	hxri ha's-io Hari laughed.
	Cv	mxi-le hxri-lai ha's-nx laga-e' I caused Hari to laugh.
R	Basic	tio mxntri bhx-io He became a minister.
	Cv	mxi-le tes-lai mxntri hu-nx lxga-e' I caused him to become a minister.

This rule does not apply to all types of Receptive clauses.

e. Permissive embedding, -nx di- insertion (Prm). This rule has as its normal domain of application the major rule set of patterns (BT, T, ST, I, R). The verb is marked by the insertion of -nx di- between the stem and the finite ending. A new actor, agent-marked subject is added.

BT	Basic	mxi-le ^s hxri-lai eut'a cit'hi lekh-e' I wrote a letter to Hari.
	Prm	tes-le mx-lai (hxri-lai) eut'a cithi lekh-nx di-io He allowed me to write Hari a letter.
T	Basic	mxi-le d'hoka khol-e' I opened the door.

- Prm tes-le mx-lai d'hoka khol-nx di-io
He allowed me to open the door.
- ST Basic mx rukh-ma cxd'h-e'
I climbed up on the tree.
- Prm tes-le mx-lai rukh-ma cxd'h-nx di-io
He allowed me to climb up the tree.
- I Basic mx sut-e'
I slept.
- Prm tes-le mx-lai sut-nx di-io
He allowed me to sleep.
- R Basic tio mxntri bhx-io
He became a minister.
- Prm tini-hxri-le tes-lai mxntri hu-nx di-e
They allowed him to become a minister.

The permissive rule may also apply in the same way to certain other clause patterns but these show certain peculiarities of meaning and may be viewed as sememically irregular derivations. Consider the following imperative permissive constructions.

- BR Basic mx-lai io jutta mil-io
This shoe fit me.
- Prm mx-lai io jutta milnx de
Two senses: First let's see if the shoe fits.
So what if the shoe fits?
- SR Basic mx-lai cila-io
I itched.
- Prm mx-lai cila-unx de
Two senses: So what if I itch?
First let it itch - wait and see if
it itches me.
- E Basic pani pxx-io
It rained.
- Prm pani pxrx de
Two senses: First let it rain - wait until it
rains.
So what if it rains?

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f. Personal passive deletion, -i insertion (PPsv). The personal passive rule applies only to BiTransitive and Transitive clause patterns. The verb is marked by the insertion of -i between the stem and finite ending. The original subject (actor) is deleted and the undergoer becomes the new subject, governing the finite form of the verb.

BT	Basic	tes-le mx-lai jel-ma hal-io He put me in prison.
	PPsv	mx jel-ma hal-i-e' I was put in prison.
T	Basic	tes-le tx'-lai kut'-io He hit you.
	PPsv	tx' kut'-i-is You were hit.

g. Impersonal passive deletion, -i insertion (IPsv). The impersonal passive applies to the major rule set of patterns (BT, T, ST, I, R). The verb is marked by the insertion of -i between the stem and the finite ending. The original subject (whether actor or undergoer) is deleted. The function of subject is not re-assigned. The resultant derived pattern may be considered subject less. The finite form of verb is impersonal (third person singular masculine).

BT	Basic	tes-le mx-lai jel-ma hal-io He put me in prison.
	IPsv	mx-lai jel-ma hal-i-io I was put in prison.
T	Basic	tes-le tx'-lai kut-io He hit you.
	IPsv	tx'-lai kut'-i-io You were hit.
ST	Basic	mx ghxr-x gx-e' I went home.
	IPsv	ghxr-x gx-i-io (I) went home.

I	Basic	mx ha's-e' I laughed.
	IPsv	ha's-i-io (I) laughed.
R	Basic	mx birami bhx-e' I became ill.
	IPsv	birami bhx-i-io (I) became ill.

h. Must modal embedding, -nx pxr- / -nu pxr- insertion (Mm).
Must modal embedding may apply to the major rule set of patterns (BT, T, ST, I, R). This rule may also apply to BR, SR, and E clause types but these show certain peculiarities of meaning and may be viewed as semantically irregular derivations. When this rule is applied, the verb is marked by the insertion of -nx pxr- or -nu pxr- between the stem and the finite ending. Since the resultant pattern is impersonal, the verb form is always third person singular. The original subject becomes the new referent-site of the derived clause and is marked either by -lai or by -le. The resultant derived clause is often ambiguous.

BT	Basic	pulis-le tes-lai jel-ma hal-io The police put him in prison.
	Mm	pulis-le tes-lai jel-ma hal-nx pxr-io The police had to put him in prison (or, The police ought to put him in prison).
T	Basic	mxi-le tes-lai kut'-e' I hit him.
	Mm	mxi-le/-lai tes-lai kut'-nu pxr-io I had to hit him (or, I ought to hit him).
ST	Basic	tio ghxr-x gx-io He went home.
	Mm	tes-le/-lai ghxr-x ja-nu pxr-io He had to go home (or, He ought to go home).
I	Basic	tio ha's-io He laughed.

tes-le ha's-nu prx-io
 He had to laugh
 (or, He ought to laugh).

R Basic mx mxntri bnx-e'
 I became a minister.

Mm mxi-le/mx-lai mxntri hu-nu prx-io
 I had to become a minister
 (or, He ought to become a minister).

i. Desiderative embedding, -nx mxn lag- insertion (Dsd).
 Desiderative embedding may apply to the major rule set of patterns (BT, T, ST, I, R). The verb is marked by the insertion of -nx mxn lag- between the verb stem and finite ending. Since the resultant pattern is impersonal, tense, aspect, and negation are the only variables within aspect and finite complex. The original subject becomes the site of the derived pattern and is marked by -lai.

BT Basic mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
 I gave Hari a book.

Dsd mx-lai hxri-lai kitap di-nx mxn lag-io
 I wanted to give Hari a book
 (or, I got the urge to give Hari a book).

T Basic mxi-le hxri-lai kut'-e'
 I hit Hari

Dsd mx-lai hxri-lai kut'nx mxn lag-io
 I wanted to hit Hari
 (I got the urge to hit Hari.)

ST Basic mx bxjar gx-e'
 I went to market.

Dsd mx-lai bxjar ja-nx mxn lag-io
 I wanted to go to market.
 (I got the urge to go to market.)

I Basic mx ro-e'
 I wept.

Dsd mx-lai ru-nx mxn lag-io
 I wanted to weep.
 (I got the urge to cry.)

- R Basic mx mxntri bhx-e'
I became a minister.
- Dsd mx-lai mxntri hu-nx mxn lag-io
I want to be a minister.
(I got the urge to become a minister.)

j. Receptive embedding, -ne bhx- insertion (Rcp). Receptive embedding may apply to any event pattern (BT, T, ST, I, BR, R, SR, I). The verb is marked by the insertion of -ne bhx- between the verbal stem and the finite ending. The actor of the underlying clause is reinterpreted as the subject-undergoer of bxh-. The remainder of the underlying clause is embedded as the complement of bxh-.

- BT Basic tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-io
He will give Hari a book.
- Rcp tes-le hxri-lai kitap di-ne bhx-io
He became one of those who will give Hari a book.
- T Basic mxi-le bhat kha-e'
I ate rice.
- Rcp mxi-le bhat kha-ne bhx-e'
I became one of those who will eat rice.
- ST Basic tio mx-ka' a-io
He came to me.
- Rcp tio mx-ka' au-ne bhx-io
He became one of those who will come to me.
- I Basic tio ha's-io
He laughed.
- Rcp tio ha's-ne bhx-io
He became one who will laugh.
- BR Basic mx-lai io jutta mil-io
The shoe came to fit me.
- Rcp The shoe became one that will fit me.
- R Basic bha'd'a cuhi-io
The pot leaked.
- Rcp bha'd'a cuhi-ne bhx-io
The pot has become a leaky one.

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- SR Basic mx-lai kxpal dukh-io
My head ached.
- Rcp mx-lai kxpal dukh-ne bhx-io
My head has become an aching one.
- E Basic pani pxr-io
It rained.
- Rcp pani pxrne bhx-io
(The day) has become a rainy one.
/Conditions have become such as to induce precipitation.

k. Obligative embedding, -nu + auxiliary (Obl). Obligative embedding may apply to the major rule set of patterns (BT, T, ST, I, R). The verb is marked by -nu followed by an auxiliary. The original subject becomes a site and may be marked either by -le or -lai. The remainder of the original becomes an embedded undergoer. The resultant clause is impersonal.

- BT Basic mxi-le hxri-lai cit'hi lekh-e'
I wrote Hari a letter.
- Obl mxi-le/-lai hxri-lai cit'hi lekh-nu chx
I should write Hari a letter.
- T Basic mxi-le bhat kha-e'
I ate rice.
- Obl mxi-le/-lai bhat kha-nu chx
I ought to eat rice.
- ST Basic mx ghxr-x gx-e'
I went home.
- Obl mxi-le/-lai ghxr-x ja-nu chx
I should go home.
- I Basic mx ha's-e'
I laughed.
- Obl mx-lai/-le ha's-nu chx
I should laugh.
- R Basic mx raja bhx-e'
I became a king.
- Obl mx-lai/-le raja hu-nu chx
I ought to be a king.

1. Approbative embedding, -nx hun-chx (Apb). Approbative embedding may apply to the major rule set of patterns (BT, T, ST, I, R). The verb is marked by -nx hun-chx. SemiTransitive and Intransitive clauses to which this rule applies are optionally allowed to have agent marked actors which are otherwise not allowed. The whole embedded clause becomes an undergoer.

BT	Basic	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e' I gave Hari a book.
	Apb	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap dinx hun-chx It is all right if I give Hari a book.
T	Basic	mxi-le kxlxm ki-ne' I bought a pen.
	Apb	mxi-le kxlxm kin-nx hun-chx It is all right if I buy a pen.
ST	Basic	mx ghxr-x gx-e' I went home.
	Apb	mx ghxr-x ja-nx hun-chx It is all right if I go home.
I	Basic	mx ha's-e' I laughed.
	Apb	mxi-le ha's-nx hun-chx It is all right if I laugh.
R	Basic	mx raja bhx-e' I became a king.
	Apb	mxi-le raja hu-nx hun-chx It is all right if I become a king.

m. Impersonal stative, -eko chx (IStv). Attributive embedding may apply to BiTransitive and Transitive clause types and in first and second persons only. The embedded clause becomes an undergoer.

BT	Basic	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e' I gave Hari a book.
	IStv	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-eko chx I have given Hari a book.

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T	Basic	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap dfe' I hit Hari.
	IStv	mxi-le hxri-lai kut'-eko chx I have hit Hari.

n. Affirmative embedding -eko ho (Aff). Affirmative embedding may apply to any event pattern (BT, T, ST, I, BR, R, SR, E). The embedded clause becomes an undergoer.

BT	Basic	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e' I gave Hari a book.
	Aff	mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-eko ho It is true that I have given Hari a book.
T	Basic	mxi-le luga dho-e' I washed clothes.
	Aff	mxi-le luga dho-eko ho It is true that I have washed clothes.
ST	Basic	tx' ghxr-x gx-is You went home.
	Aff	tx' ghxr-x gx-eko ho It is true that you have gone home.
I	Basic	tx' ha's-is You laughed.
	Aff	tx' ha's-eko ho It is true that you laughed.
BR	Basic	mx-lai io ghxr phap-io The house became favourable to me.
	Aff	mx-lai io ghxr phap-eko ho It is true that this house has become favourable to me.
R	Basic	tio mxntri bnx-io He became a minister.
	Aff	tio mxntri bnx-eko ho It is true that he has become a minister.

SR	Basic	mx-lai joro a-io I got a fever.
	Aff	mx-lai joro a-eko ho It is true that I have got a fever.
E	Basic	pani pax-io It rained.
	Aff	pani pax-eko ho It is true that it rained.

o. Personal stative -eko chx/eki-chx (PStv). Stativization may apply to any event pattern (BT, T, ST, I, BR, R, SR, E). It differs from impersonal stative in that the subject of the underlying clause remains the subject of the derived clause and governs the finite form of the verb.

BT	Basic	mx-le tiari-lai kitap di-e' The girl gave me a book.
	PStv	mx-le hari-lai kitap di-eko chu The girl has given me a book.
T	Basic	txi'-le bhat kha-is You ate rice.
	PStv	txi'-le bhat kha-eko chx You have eaten rice.
ST	Basic	tio ket'i bxjar gx-i The girl has gone to the market.
	PStv	tio ket'i bxjar gx-eki chx The girl has gone to the market.
I	Basic	tio ket'i ro-i The girl wept.
	PStv	tio ket'i ro-eki chx The girl has wept.
BR	Basic	mx-lai io ghxr mxn pax-io I liked this house.
	PStv	mx-lai io ghxr mxn-xr-eko chx I have liked this house.

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R	Basic	tio bud'ho bñx-io He became old.
	PStv	tio bud'ho bñx-eko chx He has become old.
SR	Basic	mñ-lai bhok lag-io I became hungry.
	PStv	mñ-lai bhok lag-eko chx I have become hungry.
E	Basic	pani pñr-io It rained.
	PStv	pani pñr-eko chx It has rained.

p. Eventivization shift bñx- replacement (Evt). Eventivization may apply to any state pattern (BA, A, SA, C) which has a copular verb. The copular verb is replaced by bñx- when this rule applies. The subject of the underlying clause remains the subject of the derived clause, governing the finite form of the verb.

BA	Basic	mñ-lai io bhari gñrunggo hun-chx This load is heavy for me.
	Evt	mñ-lai io bhari gñrunggo bñx-io The load became heavy for me.
A	Basic	kxmij sñpha chx The shirt is clean.
	Evt	kxmij sñpha bñx-io The shirt became clean.
SA	Basic	mñ-lai sñnco chx I am well.
	Evt	mñ-lai sñnco bñx-io I became well.

B. Derivational System

In terms of the descriptive apparatus employed, the derivational system involves the rules given above, a derivational matrix such as is given in Figure 19, and a table of derivational constraints such as is given in Figure 20. These three items together define the limits on the derivation of any given basic clause.

1. Derivational matrix.

The derivational matrix consists of labeled columns, labeled rows and labeled cells. The column labels are abbreviations for the names of derivational rules. The cell labels are abbreviations for the names of derived clause types which result from the application of a given rule to a given clause type. Thus, if we apply the affirmative embedding (n.Aff) to a BiTransitive clause (BT) we get a derived clause which is Attributive (A). An empty cell indicates that the rule concerned can not apply to the clause types concerned within this derivational system.

	BT	T	ST	I	BR	R	SR	E	BA	A	SA
a. Ta	BT	BT	BT	T	BT	T	T	T			
b. Ts					BT	T	T	T			
c. Ti	BT	BT	BT	T	BT	T	T	T			
d. Cv	BT	BT	BT	T		T					
e. Prm	BT	BT	BT	T		T					
f. PPsv	BR	R									
g. IPSv	BR	R	SR	E		E					
h. Mm	BR	BR	BR	BR		BR					
i. Dsd	BR	BR	BR	BR		BR					
j. Rcp	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R			
k. Obl	BA	BA	BA	BA		BA					
l. Apb	BA	BA	BA	BA		BA					
m. IStv	A	A									
n. Aff	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A			
o. PStv	BS	S	SS	D	BA	A	SA	C			
p. Evt									BR	R	SR

Figure 19. Derivational matrix of Nepali clauses.

To illustrate how the descriptive apparatus may be used in an informal way to define a derivational history, consider the following example.

ST tio ghxr-x gx-io
 He went home.

if the following rule has applied	to the following clause type(s)	the following regular rules are blocked
any rule	any type	a
e. Prm	BR, R, SR, R	a,b,c,d,f,g,i,j,k,l,m,n,o
f. PPsv	any type	a,d,e,h,i
g. IPsv	any type	a,d,e,f
h. Mm	any type	b,d,e,f,g,i,k,l
i. Dsd	any type	a,b,d,e,f,g,k,l
j. Rcp	any type	a,c,d,f

Figure 20. Constraints on the application of rules in the second and succeeding cycles through the derivational matrix.

This is a basic SemiTransitive clause to which no derivational rules have applied. It is well formed. Any further derivation is optional. If we wish to obtain a further derivation we enter Figure 19 at the column headed ST. We are free to apply any rule which has a labeled cell in the column headed ST. Where a cell is empty, the corresponding rule does not apply. If we apply rule c. Ti, the resultant derivational variant will be BiTransitive:

(STc) BT siam-le tes-lai ghxr-x ja-ne gxra-io
Shyam made him go home.

The designation (STc) BT which precedes the examples above is a representation of the derivational history of the clause. It states that the clause is a derived BiTransitive clause which came from an inherent basic SemiTransitive clause by the application of rule c.

Having applied rule c to the basic ST clause and having gotten the derived BT clause given above we now leave Figure 19. The derived clause is well formed. The derivation can stop at this point. If we wish to obtain a further derivation we must consult Figure 20 to determine what restrictions, if any, must be imposed upon any further derivation. In addition to what is specified in

Figure 20 there is the general constraints that no rule can be applied twice within a single derivation. Consulting Figure 20 we see that rule a can apply only within the first cycle and is thus excluded from applying to (STc) BT. Rule b applies only to clauses with the verb *bhx-* and thus cannot apply to our derived BT. Rule c has already applied once, thus can not apply again. Rule l appears to be allowed. We enter column BT and move to the cell in the row headed by rule l Apb and find that the application of this rule will yield a derived clause such as the following.

(STcl) BA *siam-le tes-lai ghxr-x ja-ne gxrau-nx hun-chx*
It's all right if Shyam makes him go home.

The derivational history is summarized as (STcl) BA. Rules c and l are applied in the order to a basic SemiTransitive clause to produce a derived BiAttributive clause. From Figure 20 we see that the rule l is terminal. No further rules can apply. This brief example should serve to introduce the notation for derivational histories that is used in the following two sections. In Section 2 we illustrate a number of first cycle derivations. In Section 3 we illustrate a number of derivations of the second and subsequent cycles in Nepali.

2. Derivations of the First Cycle

BT		<i>mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'</i> I gave Hari a book.
(BTa)	BT	<i>siam-le mxlai (hxri-lai) kitap dila-io</i> Shyam caused me to give Hari a book.
(BTc)	BT	<i>siam-le mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-he gxra-io</i> Shyam made me one who gives Hari a book.
(BTd)	BT	<i>siam-le mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-nx lxga-io</i> Shyam caused me to give Hari a book.
(BTe)	BT	<i>siam-le mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-nx di-io</i> Shyam allowed me to give Hari a book.
(BTg)	BR	<i>hxri-lai kitap di-i-io</i> Hari was given a book.
(BTh)	BR	<i>mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu pxx-io</i> I had to give Hari a book.
(BTh)	BR	<i>mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-nu pxx-io</i> I had to give Hari a book.

- (BTi) BR mx-lai (hxri-lai) kitap di-nx man lag-io
I wanted to give Hari a book.
- (BTj) R mx hxri-lai kitap di-ne bhx-e'
I became one who gives Hari a book.
- (BTk) BA mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-nu chx
I have to give Hari a book.
- (BTl) BA mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-nx hun-chx
It is all right if I give Hari a book.
- (BTm) A mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-eko chx
I have given Hari a book.
- (BTn) A mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-eko ho
It is true that I have given Hari a book.
- (BTo) BS mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-eko chu
I have given Hari a book.
- T tes-le mx-lai kut'-io
He hit me.
- (Ta) BT siam-le tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'-a-io
Shyam made him hit me.
- (Tc) BT siam-le tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'-ne gxra-io
Shyam made him hit me.
- (Td) BT siam-le tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'nx laga-io
Shyam caused him to hit me.
- (Te) BT siam-le tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'-nx di-io
Shyam allowed him to hit me.
- (Tf) R mx kut'-i-e'
I was hit.
- (Tg) R mx-lai kut'-i-io
I was hit.
- (Th) BR tes-le mx-lai kut'-nu pxx-io
tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'-nu pxx-io
He had to hit me.
- (Ti) BR tes-lai (mx-lai) kut'nx mxn lag-io
He wanted to hit me.

- (Tj) R tes-le mx-lai kut'ne bhx-io
It became sure that he will hit me.
- (Tk) BA tes-le mx-lai kut'nx chx
He has to hit me.
- (Tl) BA tes-le mx-lai kut'nx hun-chx
It is all right if he hits me.
- (Tn) A tes-le mx-lai kut'-eko ho
It is true that he has hit me.
- (To) S tes-le mx-lai kut'-eko chx
He has hit me.
- ST tio ghxr-x gx-io
He went home.
- (STc) BT siam-le tes-lai ghxr-x ja-ne gxra-io
Shyam made him go home.
- (STd) BT siam-le tes-lai ghxr-x ja-nx laga-io
Shyam caused him to go home.
- (STe) BT siam-le tes-lai ghxr-x ja-nx di-io
Shyam allowed him to go home.
- (STg) SR ghxr-x gx-i-io
(I) went home.
- (STh) BR tes-lai ghxr-x ja-nu pxr-io
He had to go home.
- (STi) BR tes-lai ghxr-x ja-nx mxn lag-io
He wanted to go home.
- (STj) R tio ghxr-x ja-ne bhx-io
It became sure that he will go home.
- (STk) BA tes-lai ghxr-x ja-nu chx
He has to go home.
- (STl) BA tio ghxr-x ja-nx hun-chx
It is all right if he goes home.
- (STn) A tio ghxr-x gx-eko ho
It is true that he had gone home.

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(STo)	SS	tio ghxr-x gx-eko chx He has gone home.
I		mx ha's-e' I laughed.
(Ia)	T	tes-le mx-lai hx's-a-io He made me laugh.
(Ic)	T	tes-le mx-lai ha's-ne gxra-io He made me one who laughs.
(Id)	T	tes-le mx-lai ha's-nx lxga-io He caused me to laugh.
(Ie)	T	tes-le mx-lai ha's-nx di-io He allowed me to laugh.
(Ig)	E	ha's-i-io (I) laughed.
(Ih)	BR	mx-lai ha's-nu pxx-io I had to laugh.
(Ii)	BR	mx-lai ha's-nx mxn lag-io I wanted to laugh.
(Ij)	R	mx ha's-ne bhx-e' I became one who laughs.
(Ik)	BA	mx-lai ha's-nu chx I have to laugh.
(Il)	BA	mxi-le ha's-nx hun-chx It is all right if I laugh.
(In)	A	mx ha's-eko ho It is true that I have laughed.
(Io)	D	mx ha's-eko chu I have laughed.
BR		mx-lai io jutta mil-io The shoe came to fit me.
(BRa)	BT	tes-le mx-lai io jutta mil-a-io He made this shoe fit me.

- (BRc) BT tes-le mx-lai io jutta mil-ne gxra-io
He made this shoe fit me.
- (BRj) R mx-lai io jutta mil-ne bhx-io
It became sure that this shoe will fit me.
- (BRn) A mx-lai io jutta mil-eko ho
It is true that this shoe has come to fit me.
- (BRo) BA mx-lai io jutta mil-eko chx
This shoe has come to fit me.
- R mx mxntri bhx-e'
I became a minister.
- (Rb) T tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxna-io
He made me a minister.
- (Rc) T tes-le mx-lai mxntri hu-ne bxna-io
He made me one who becomes a minister.
- (Rd) T tes-le mx-lai mxntri hu-nx lxga-io
He caused me to be a minister.
- (Rg) E mxntri bhx-i-io
(I) became a minister.
- (Rh) BR mx-lai mxntri hu-nx pxx-io
I had to be a minister.
- (Ri) BR mx-lai mxntri hu-nx mxn lag-io
I wanted to be a minister.
- (Rj) R mx mxntri hu-nx bhx-e'
I became one who becomes a minister.
- (Rk) BA mx-lai mxntri hu-nu chx
I have to be a minister.
- (Rl) A mx mxntri hu-nx hun-chx
It is all right if I become a minister.
- (Rn) A mx mxntri bhx-eko ho
It is true that I have become a minister.
- (Ro) A mx mxntri bhx-eko chu
I have become a minister.

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R		bhat pak-io The rice is cooked.
(Ra)	T	tes-le bhat pxka-io He cooked rice.
(Rc)	T	tes-le bhat pak-ne gxra-io He made the rice cook.
(Rh)	BR	bhat pak-nu pxr-io Rice had to be cooked.
(Rj)	R	bhat pak-ne bhx-io It became sure that the rice has to be cooked.
(Rk)	A	bhat pak-nu chx Rice has to be cooked.
(Rn)	A	bhat pak-eko ho It is true that the rice has been cooked.
(Rn)	A	bhat pak-eko chx Rice has been cooked.
SR		mx-lai cila-io I itched.
(SRb)	T	es-le mx-lai cilau-nx hal-io It made me itch.
(SRc)	T	es-le mx-lai cilau-ne gxra-io It made me itch. Let it itch.
(SRj)	R	mx-lai cilau-ne bhx-io It became sure that I will itch.
(SRn)	A	mx-lai cila-eko ho It is true that I have itched.
(SRo)	SA	mx-lai cila-eko chx I have itched.
E		pani pxr-io It rained.

(Ea)	T	deuta-le' pani par-io The god made it rain.
(Ec)	T	hami-le pani pxx-ne gxra-eu' We caused that it be made to rain.
(Ej)	R	pani pxx-ne bhx-io It became sure that it will rain.
(El)	A	pani pxx-eko ho It is true that it had rained.
(Em)	C	pani pxreko chx It has rained.

Derivations of BA, A, and SA clause types.

BiAttributive, Attributive, and SemiAttributive clauses are not further derived. When these clauses are eventivized by p. Evt rule they become BiReceptive, Receptive, and SemiReceptive clauses respectively and have very much the same derivational potential as the inherent types which have bhx-io as copula and nouns or adjectives as complements.

BA		mx-lai io jutta t'hikkx hun-chx This shoe fits me.
(BAp)	BR	mx-lai io jutta thikkx bhx-io This shoe came to fit me.
A		kxlxm rato chx The pen is red.
(Ap)	R	kxlxm rato bhx-io The pen became red.
SA		mx-lai jad'o hun-chx I feel cold.
(SAp)	SR	mx-lai jad'o bhx-io I felt cold.

3. Derivations of Subsequent Cycles

In order to illustrate derivations of the second and subsequent cycles we will pick up one of the clauses already derived from an inherent pattern and will show further derivational possibilities of this clause.

- (Rb) T tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxna-io
He made me a minister.
- (Rbc) BT hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxna-ne gxra-io
Hari made him one who makes me a minister.
- (Rbd) BT hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxna-nx lxga-io
Hari caused him to make me a minister.
- (Rbe) BT hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxna-nx di-io
Hari allowed him to make me a minister.
- (Rbf) R mx mxntri bxna-i-e^s
I was made a minister.
- (Rbg) R mx-lai mxntri bxna-i-io
I was made a minister.
- (Rbh) BR tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxnaunu pxx-io
He had to make me a minister.
- (Rbi) BR tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnaunx mxn lag-io
He wanted to make me a minister.
- (Rbj) R tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxnaune bxx-io
It became sure that he will make me a minister.
- (Rbk) BA tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxnaunu chx
He has to make me a minister.
- (Rbl) BA tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxnaunx hun-chx
It is all right if he makes me a minister.
- (Rbn) BA tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxna-io
He made me a minister.
- (Rbc) S tes-le mx-lai mxntri bxna-eko chx
He has made me a minister.

Further derivation of Rbc

- (Rbc) BT hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne gxra-io
Hari made him one who makes me a minister.
- (Rbcd) BT siam-le hxri-lai (tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne
gxrau-nx lxga-io
Shyam caused Hari to make him one who makes me a minister.
- (Rbce) BT siam-le hxri-lai (tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-nx
di-io
Shyam allowed Hari to make him one who makes me a minister.
- (Rbcg) BT tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne gxra-i-io
He was made one who makes me a minister.
- (Rbch) BR hxri-le/lai (tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne
gxraunu pxi-io
Hari had to make him one who makes me a minister.
- (Rbci) BR hxri-lai (tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri bxnaune gxraunx
mxn lag-io
Hari wanted to make him one who makes me a minister.
- (Rbcj) R hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne gxrau-ne
bix-io
It became sure that Hari will make him one who makes me a minister.
- (Rbck) BA hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnau-ne gxrau-nu
chx
Hari has to make him one who makes me a minister.
- (Rbcl) BA hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnaune gxraunx
hun-chx
It is all right if Hari makes him one who makes me a minister.
- (Rbcn) BA hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnaune gxra-eko ho
It is true that Hari has made him one who makes me a minister.

- (Rbcd) BS hxri-le tes-lai (mx-lai) mxntri bxnaune gxra-eko chx
Hari has made him one who makes me a minister.

Further derivation of Rbcd

- (Rbcd) BT siam-le hxri-lai (tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri bxnaune
gxrau-nx laga-io
Shyam caused Hari to make him one who makes me a
minister.

- (Rbcde) BT ram-le siam-lai (hxri-lai/tes-lai/mx-lai) mxntri
bxnau-ne gxrau-nx lxgaunx di-io
Ram allowed Shyam to cause Hari to make him one
who makes me a minister.

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FOOTNOTES

¹This work was carried out pursuant to an agreement of co-operation between Tribhuvan University and The Summer Institute of Linguistics, and has been accomplished under the auspices of the Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the Rector of Tribhuvan University and to the Director of The Summer Institute of Linguistics for their part in making this research possible.

I am indebted to Dr. Kenneth L. Pike for providing the theoretical background for this paper and for his encouragement and comments in the initial stages of research. I also wish to thank Mrs. E. Pike and Miss Maria Hari for their comments and sugges-

tions during the initial phases of the analysis. I am specially grateful to Dr. Austin Hale and Mr. David Watters for help with the basic approach, for their encouragement and suggestions regarding the analysis and regarding the wording of the final draft. I also benefited greatly from numerous stimulating discussions with the following colleagues: Miss D. Bieri, Mr. R. Caughley, Miss E. Strahm and Miss J. Williams.

Nepali is the national language and lingua franca of Nepal. The dialect under consideration is that of the author, who comes from a village of the Palpa district of Nepal. This paper has benefited from a computer concordance of spoken Nepali which was processed at the University of Oklahoma under a grant from the National Science Foundation.

The transcription scheme used for the representation of the Nepali examples in this paper is summarized in the following table. A single quote following a consonant indicates that the consonant in question is 'retroflex' or backed. A single quote following a vowel indicates that the vowel in question is nasalized. The symbol *x* is used for the central vowel. The diagraph *ng* represents the velar nasal consonant.

p	t	t'	c	k
ph	th	t'h	ch	kh
b	d	d'	j	g
bh	dh	d'h	jh	gh
m	n			ng
	s			h
	l	r		
<u>oral vowels</u>			<u>nasal vowels</u>	
i		u	i'	u'
e	x	o	e'	x'
	a			a'

This research was supported in part by the Institute of International Studies, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare under contract No. OEC-O-9-097721-2778 (014) under the project direction of Kenneth L. Pike.

²Site of an embedded BiReceptive clause can be marked by -le, which is normally an actor marker. Consider the following examples.

mxi-le/-lai ghxr-x ja-nu par-io
I had to go home.

mx-i-le hxri-lai kut'-nu pxr-io
I had to hit Hari.

³The conditional inflection has been included here for morphological reasons to show the paradigm of the verb. Traditional grammarians think that this inflection is used for the future tense. But the data of spoken Nepali show that this form of the verb is rarely used for future time and in most cases the simple present tense form is used to denote simple future tense.

⁴Honorific 1 and Honorific 2 constructions may be viewed as derivations as well. This is the lexical choice which governs the verbal phrase structure. If -i bxksi- is chosen the pronoun always should be hxjur but if -nu bhx-io is chosen the most common is txpai but hxjur is also possible.

⁵Modals are tentatively summarized here. Since modals are expressed by way of embedding, those modals which help to change the role system of a clause will be dealt with in the section on derivation. Some of the modals given here also change their role system optionally. Consider the following examples.

tio/tes-le ghxr-x ja-nx pa-e-nx
He did not get to go home.

tio/tes-le ghxr-x ja-nx khoj-io
He wanted to go home.

In these examples the unmarked actors are the subjects of the verb 'go' but the agent-marked actors are the subjects of the verbs 'get to go' and 'want to go'.

⁶There is another rule, which can be called an altering rule. The altering rule alters the relation of the roles and the grammatical categories into which they fall. In Nepali, the undergoers of Transitive, Receptive, and Attributive clauses are changed to sites. Consider the following examples.

T tes-le mx-lai her-io
He looked at me.

ST tes-le bhui'-ma her-io
He looked at the ground.

R mx sxnco bhx-e'
I became well.

- SR mx-lai sxnco bñx-io
It became well (with respect to me).
- A mx ramro chu
I am well.
- SA mx-lai ramro chx
It is well (with respect to me).

APPENDIX

Abbreviations

A	attributive (box 4 feature)
A	adjuncts (box 1 feature)
Act	actor
Adj	adjective
Ad	actor deletion
Aff	affirmative
Agr	agreement
Agt	agent
AnL	animate location
ArL	areal location
Apb	aprobative
Asc	associative
BA	BiAttributive
BT	BiTransitive
BR	BiReceptive
C	Circumstantial (box 4 feature)
C	complement (box 1 feature)
Cv	causativizing rule
D	Descriptive
Des	destination
Dir	directional
Dsd	desiderative rule
E	Eventive
Evt	eventivizing rule
f	feminine
fam	familiar
Gol	goal
hon	honorific grade
Ins	instrument
IO	indirect object
IPsv	impersonal passive

Istv	impersonal stative
Loc	locative
m	masculine
Mm	modal
nAd	non-contrastive actor deletion
Nagr	non-agreement
neg	negative
Nn	noun
nor	normal
NP	noun phrase
npst	non-past
nSa	non-contrastive site deletion
nUd	non-contrastive undergoer deletion
O	object
obl	obligation
p	predicate
pl	plural
P	predicate
Pos	possessive
PPsv	personal passive
pst	past tense
PStv	personal stative rule
Prm	permissive
R	Receptive (box 4 feature)
R	referent (box 1 feature)
Rcp	receptive embedding
S	stative (box 4 feature)
S	subject (box 1 feature)
SA	SemiAttributive
Sd	site deletion
sg	singular
Sit	site
Src	source
SS	SemiStative
ST	SemiTransitive
Sta	statant
T	Transitive
Ta	transitive addition
Ti	transitive insertion
Ts	transitive suppletion
Tv	transitivizing rule
Und	undergoer
Umk	unmarked
V	verb
VP	verb phrase
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person

Clause Patterns in Tamang

Doreen Taylor

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I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is first of all to provide some materials on the Tamang language as it is spoken in the village of Sahugaon, Tupche Panchayat, Nuwakot Jilla (West No. 1) of the Bagmati Anchal; and secondly, to provide material which may be useful for comparison with the grammatical systems of other languages of Nepal.

The reader must bear in mind that this paper presents a preliminary analysis only and further detailed study will be necessary.

Following is a brief statement of the phonology of Western Tamang and the orthography used for examples given in this paper.

stops	unaspirated	p	t	t̚	k
	aspirated	ph	th	th̚	kh
affricates	unaspirated			ts	
	aspirated			tsh	
fricatives				s	
nasals		m	n		ng
liquids			l		
			r		
glides	unaspirated	w			y
	aspirated	wh			

Figure 1. Consonants in Tamang.

i	u
e	o
a	

Figure 2. Vowels in Tamang.

c	= (ts) affricate
capital T	= (t̚) retroflexed consonant
v	= short vowel

vv	=	long vowel
vh	=	lax vowel
'v	=	tense with tone, high falling
v	=	tense with tone high, basically level
'vh	=	lax with tone mid, falling
vh	=	lax with tone low, basically level

Initial phonetic voiced stops have been retained in transcription.

Figure 3. Orthographic transcription.

Mr. Karna Bahadur Tamang, 28 years of age, and Mr. Bhajuman Tamang, 20 years of age, have served in the capacity of language assistants. I am indebted to them for the excellent help given in checking the data upon which this analysis is based.

I am indebted to Dr. Kenneth L. Pike for providing the theoretical background for this paper. I am also very much indebted to Dr. A. Hale, Dr. and Mrs. R. L. Trail and Mr. D. Watters for the consultant help they have provided throughout the analysis and to my colleague Miss M. F. Everitt for typing this manuscript.

This work has been done pursuant to an agreement of cooperation between the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Tribhuvan University and has been carried out under the auspices of the Institute of Nepal Studies of the University. The author wishes to express gratitude to the Institute of Nepal and Asiatic Studies for their part in making this research possible.

This paper was in part supported by a grant from the U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C., under contract number OEC-O-097721-2778 (014). This paper has benefited greatly from a computer concordance of Tamang texts processed at the University of Oklahoma in a program supported by National Science Foundation grant number GS-1605.

II. BASIC PATTERNS

A. The Contrastive System

1. The Role Marker System

The sememic classification of clause patterns in Tamang is based on the three primary roles, actor, undergoer, and site. The purpose of this section is to show how these roles are marked as they occur in the different clause types.

Differences and Contrasts. A difference which is counted as evidence of contrast as they relate to roles, is not merely an optional choice or omission of a nuclear tagmeme but involves the obligatory presence vs obligatory absence of one of these roles. A further criterion for contrast is the presence vs absence, or presence vs optional usage of a role marker with a particular role. (This applies primarily to the use of the agentive marker with the actor role and is dealt with more fully in Section II. A. 3).

The Transitivity System. The transitivity system which is defined by the roles of actor, undergoer, and site, consists of the transitive set and receptive set of clauses.

<u>Receptive set</u>	Eventive	Semi-Receptive	Receptive	Bi-Receptive
<u>Transitive set</u>	Intransitive	Semi-Transitive	Transitive	Bi-Transitive

Figure 4. Transitivity system.

Transitivity Matrix Covering State and Event Categories. One major distinctive feature marked in the verb phrase as it occurs within clauses in narrative discourse is event vs state. An event is typically given in the past tense, while state is indicated by non-past tenses, negatives, and non-indicative moods. This distinction between state and event provides a further basis for separating clauses in Tamang.

By adding state and event to the transitivity system the transitivity matrix is doubled. The state side of the system consists of two additional sets, the stative set and the attributive set. The full system is shown in Figure 5. (It should be noted here that names of sets are lower case: transitive set (which refers to a set of four patterns, BT, T, ST, and I) whereas the names of patterns or types are upper case: BiTransitive, Transitive etc.)

		Sit	Und	Und + Sit
State Sta	Circum- stantial	Semi- Attributive	Attributive	Bi- Attributive
	Descrip- tive	Semi- Stative	Stative	Bi- Stative
Event Act	Eventive	Semi- Receptive	Receptive	Bi- Receptive
	Intran- sitive	Semi- Transitive	Transitive	Bi- Transitive

Figure 5. Full transitivity system.

Normal Role Markers in Tamang. The correlation between the normal role markers and the nuclear roles of actor, undergoer and site are basic to the identification of the contrastive clause patterns in Tamang. In Figures 6 to 12 the normal markers have been summarised as they occur within the clause patterns. Cells in which a given role cannot occur, by definition of the transitivity pattern, are marked by three hyphens. Cells for which no appropriate examples of a given role have been found are marked by empty parentheses.

The clauses below each figure illustrate the normal markers. The forms referred to by label in the figures are underlined in the examples. M stands for marker, R for role.

C	---	SA	---	A	---	BA	---
D	()	SS	()	S	()	BS	()
E	---	SR	---	R	---	BR	---
I	Agt**	ST	Agt*	T	Agt*	BT	Agt*

Figure 6. Normal actor markers.

*Optionally marked in non-event tenses.

**Always optionally marked.

Normal Actor Markers.

I		the nyi-ci.	or		the-ce nyi-ci.
	M	Umk P		M	Agt P
	R	Act Evt		R	Act Evt
		<u>He</u> went.			<u>He</u> went.
ST		tamra-ce gahsyng-Ti Duhn-ci.			
	M	Agt Loc P			
	R	Act Sit Evt			
		The <u>bean</u> <u>plant</u> climbed up the stick.			
T		the-ce ken ca-ci.			
	M	Agt Umk P			
	R	Act Und Evt			
		<u>He</u> ate rice.			
BT		the-ce apa-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.			
	M	Agt Gol Umk P			
	R	Act Sit Und Evt			
		<u>He</u> gave the book to father.			

C	---	SA	---	A	Umk	BA	Umk
D	---	SS	---	S	()	BS	()
E	---	SR	---	R	Umk	BR	Umk
I	---	ST	---	T	Gol/Umk	BT	Umk/Gol

Figure 7. Normal undergoer markers for animate undergoers.

Normal Undergoer Markers (animate).

A		'uhcu miih cho-pa.
	M	Umk P
	R	Und State
		<u>That man</u> is fat.
BA		'uhcu miih-ta nga pep-pa.
	M	Gol Umk P
	R	Sit Und State
		<u>I</u> am shy of that man.

- R apa ching-ci.
M Umk P
R Und Evt
 Father awoke.
- BR syet nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
M Umk Gol P
R Und Sit Evt
 I caught lice.
- T the-ce naki-ta 'to-ci.
M Agt Gol P
R Act Und Evt
 He hit the dog.
- T the-ce naki cyaa-ci.
M Agt Umk P
R Act Und Evt
 I saw the dog.
- BT the-ce 'kola 'bahcaar-Ti pit-ci.
M Agt Umk Loc P
R Act Und Sit Evt
 He sent the child to the bazaar.

C ---	SA ---	A Umk	BA Umk
D ---	SS ---	S ()	BS ()
E ---	SR ---	R Umk	BR Umk
I ---	ST ---	T Umk	BT Umk

Figure 8. Normal undergoer markers for inanimate undergoers.

Normal Undergoer Markers (inanimate).

- A the-la syaahma 'char mu-pa.
M Umk P
R Und State
 Her skirt is new.
- BA 'uhcu gyaah nga-ta jehppa mu-pa.
M Umk Gol P
R Und Sit State
 That garment is big for me.

- R 'dihm ruhl-ci.
 M Umk P
 R Und Evt
 The house fell down.
- BR nga-ta 'ki phii-ci.
 M Gol Umk P
 R Sit Und Evt
 I am thirsty.
- T the-ce 'sanga 'to-ci.
 M Agt Umk P
 R Act Und Evt
 He beat the millet.
- BT the-ce apa-ta wahre pin-ci.
 M Agt Gol Umk P
 R Act Sit Und Evt
 He gave the sickle to father.

C	---	SA	()	A	---	BA	Gol/Gen*
D	---	SS	()	S	---	BS	()
E	---	SR	()	R	---	BR	Gol
I	---	ST	()	T	---	BT	Gol

Figure 9. Normal goal-site markers.
 *inanimate only

Normal Goal Site Markers (animate).

- BA 'uhcu naki-ta 'kola long-pa.
 M Gol Umk P
 R Sit Und State
 The child is afraid of that dog.
- BA 'uhcu miih-ta jah 'nyiih mu-pa.
 M Gol Umk P
 R Sit Und State
 That man has two sons.
- or
- M Gen Umk P
 R Sit Und State
 That man has two sons.

BR ee-i 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
 M Umk Gol P
 R Und Sit Evt
 I caught your cold.

BT the-ce nga-ta 'chiTi pin-ci.
 M Agt Gol Umk P
 R Act Sit Und Evt
 He gave me a letter.

Normal Goal Site Markers (inanimate).

BA cu 'mrap 'dihm-ta 'Thik mu-pa.
 M Umk Gol P
 R Und Sit State
 This door is all right for the house.

BA 'ee-la wahre-ta jihta 'yu mu-pa.
 M Gol Umk
 R Sit Und State
 Your sickle has a small handle.

or 'ee-la wahre-la jihta 'yu mu-pa.
 M Gen Umk P
 R Sit Und State
 Your sickle has a small handle.

BA nga baara barsa-la mu-pa.
 M Umk Gen P
 R Und Sit State
 I am twelve years old.

C	---	SA	()	A	---	BA	Asc
D	---	SS	()	S	---	BS	()
E	---	SR	()	R	---	BR	()
I	---	ST	Asc*	T	---	BT	()

Figure 10. Normal associative-site markers.
 *animate site only

BA the-teng wahre mu-pa.

M	Asc	Umk	P
R	Sit	Und	State

He has a sickle (with him).

	'ee-la bahr	<u>nga-la-teng</u>	mu-pa.
M	Umk	Asc	P
R	Und	Sit	State
	Your basket is with mine (my basket).		

	the-ce	<u>nga-teng</u>	bahng-ci.
M	Agt	Asc	P
R	Act	Sit	Evt
	He abused me.		

C ---	SA ()	A ---	BA Loc
D ---	SS ()	S ---	BS ()
E ---	SR ()	R ---	BR Loc
I ---	ST Loc	D ---	BT Loc

Figure 11. Normal inanimate locative-site markers.

BA nyi 'cu sawang namsa-ri 'saaThi ghar mu-pala.

M	Loc	Umk	P
R	Sit	Und	State

In this our village of Sahu, there were sixty houses.

the pre loh-ri nah-cl.
M Umk Loc P
R Und Sit Evt
He was born in the year of the monkey.

	apa-ce	'sunaap-Ti	Daa-ci.
M	Agt	Loc	P
R	Act	Sit	Evt
	Father won the election.		

BT the-ce 'mrang-Ti lapu jahng-ci.
M Agt Loc Umk P
R Act Sit Und Evt
He planted radishes in the garden.

C	---	SA	()	A	---	BA	Agt
D	---	SS	()	S	---	BS	()
E	---	SR	()	R	---	BR	()
I	---	ST	()	D	---	BT	Agt

Figure 12. Normal inanimate source-site markers.

Normal Source Sites.

BA bohrpi thiti 'uhcu 'kaaran-ce mu-pa-rim.
M Umk Src P
R Und Sit State
From that we have the custom of taking a bride.

BT the-ce qaahkhre-ce 'ki 'tet-ci.
M Agt Src Umk P
R Act Sit Und Evt
He drew water out of the waterpot.

2. Modifications of the Normal Pattern:
Nominal Role Markers.

In this section modifications of the role marker system are given according to the roles involved.

Modified Actor Markers. The normal actor marker in the transitive clause patterns as shown in Figure 6 is the agentive marker, -ce. When the actor is first person singular the agentive form nye may be used instead of nga-ce, but its use is far less common than nga-ce. nye may occur in all the transitive clause patterns as shown.

I nye nyi-ci.
M Agt P
R Act Evt
I went.

ST	nye	gahng-Ti	kret-ci.
M	Agt	Loc	P
R	Act	Sit	Evt
	I climbed the hill.		
T	nye	ken	ca-ci.
M	Agt	Umk	P
R	Act	Und	Evt
	I ate rice.		
BT	nye	apn-ta	'kitaap pin-ci.
M	Agt	Gol	Umk P
R	Act	Sit	Und Evt
	I gave the book to father.		

Modified Undergoer Markers. In Figure 7 it was shown that normally animate undergoer roles are unmarked except in the Transitive clause when an animate undergoer occurs with a particular class of verbs. Modification occurs when, in a clause having a normally unmarked animate undergoer, the predicate is being focussed upon; in which case the undergoer is marked by the normal goal marker. This is described more fully in the section on focus (see Section II. A. 3).

Modified Site Markers. Modification of the normal goal marker with the site role in the Attributive clause occurs when the predicate is under focus (see Section II. A. 3).

In addition to the simple site markers which show the normal patterns for animate and inanimate sites there are other site markers which are more specific. Some of these markers are shown in the following examples.

Locative Markers occurring with animate and inanimate sites are as follows: Those which may be optionally preceded by the genitive form of the site:

choo 'dihm ngonkyam ('dihm-ki ngonkyam) mupa.
The rope is in front of the house.

'dihm duhngTi	('dihm-ki duhngTi)	below the house
'dihm pherang	('dihm-ki pherang)	above the house
'dihm pitcyor	('dihm-ki pitcyor)	outside the house

Those in which the genitive form of the site is obligatory:

choo 'dihm-ki asenTi mupa. The rope is under the house.
'dihm 'nyiih-i guhngTi between the two houses

Those in which the site is not genitive in form:

choo 'dihm-nahng mupa. The rope is inside the house.

Source Markers which deviate from the normal pattern are as follows: Those occurring with animate sites:

'kola apa-nyehnsye nga samma nyici.
The child went from father to me.

and those occurring with inanimate sites:

the 'dihm-ce nyici.	He went <u>from the house.</u>
'dihm-gyam-ce	<u>by way of the house</u>
'dihm-nang-ce	<u>from inside the house</u>
'dihm-nyehnsye	<u>from the house</u> (starting point)

3. The Focus Marker System in Tamang

In this section we will be concerned with three kinds of focus: relevant to clause level structures: unmarked focus, topic focus, and emphatic focus.

Unmarked Focus. Where no special device has been used to highlight a given clause constituent, we speak of unmarked focus. We refer to the topic in unmarked focus as the subject, the topic being the first nuclear constituent of the clause in normal order. In Tamang there appears to be a ranking of roles played by the subject. If an animate actor is present, it will be the subject. If there is no animate actor but there is an animate undergoer, the animate undergoer will be the subject.

C	()	SA	()	A	Und	BA	Und
D	()	SS	()	S	()	BS	()
E	()	SR	()	R	Und	BR	Und
I	Act	ST	Act	T	Act	BT	Act

Figure 13. Role of the subject.

The relation of animate subject to a role may be illustrated as follows:

A the 'khang-pa.
S P
Und State
He is cold.

- BA 'kola 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
 S REF P
 Und Sit State
 The child is in the house.
- R naki syi-ci.
 S P
 Und Evt
 The dog died.
- BR the pre loh-ri nah-ci.
 S REF P
 Und Sit Evt
 He was born in the year of the monkey.
- I 'kola kraa-ci.
 S P
 Act Evt
 The child cried.
- ST the-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
 S REF P
 Act Sit Evt
 He climbed the hill.
- T kon-ce ken ca-ci.
 S O P
 Act Und Evt
 Kon ate rice.
- BT apa-ce ale 'mrang-Ti pit-ci.
 S O REF P
 Act Und Sit Evt
 Father sent young brother to the garden.

Topic Focus. A given role may be topicalised by fronting and affixation of the particle -mi. (It may also be topicalised either by fronting alone or by the affixation of -mi alone, though these options have not been illustrated here.)

Normal Order:

bhai-la Tika (yihm-pa).
 young Brother-Gen Tika (be-pres)
 It is the younger brother Tika (ceremony).

Topicalised Tika:

Tika-m bhai-la (yihm-pa).
The Tika (ceremony) is for the younger brother.

Normal Order:

nga kainla-ki 'santaan.
I Kainla-Gen descendent
I am descendent of Kainla.

Topicalised Kainla:

kainla-ki 'santaan-mi nga.
I am a descendent of Kainla.

Normal Order:

thumpi chutti-teng nopa.
Thumpi Chuti-with tall
Thumpi is taller than Chuti.

Topicalised Chuti:

chutti-teng-mi thumpi-no nopa.
The meaning is the same as in the example above,
but here Chuti is the topic of the conversation.

Normal Order:

the-la jah no-pa ta-sye-la.
she-Gen son tall-Nm be-future
Her son will be tall.

Topicalised tall:

nopa ta-sye-la-mi the-la jrh-ka-syim.
tall be-future-em she-Gen son-em-em
Her son will certainly become tall.

Normal Order:

the-ce-no ken-mi ca-ci.
he-agt-em rice-em eat-pst
He indeed ate the rice.

Topicalised Undergoer:

ken-mi the-ce-no ca-ci.
For sure he ate the rice.

Emphatic Focus. A role may be placed in emphatic focus either by permuting it to post predicate position or by affixing to it one of various emphatic particles.

Emphatic Focus by Emphatic Particle. Emphatic particles are-

widely used in the structure of Tamang clauses and convey different shades of meaning. The more commonly used emphatic particles which have been analysed so far include the following as they occur with actor, undergoer and site roles: -m/-mi 'specific'; -mi 'contrastive'; -caanyi 'identified, selected, contrastive'; -ka 'instead of, certainty, contradiction'; -no 'confirmation, contradiction'.

The above meanings do not cover the whole range of meanings but represent what has been found in data so far analysed. While some emphatic particles do not affect the clause structure (they are simply added to the role), in other cases it constitutes a link between two clauses.

'ee-i serngo-mi nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
your cold-emp me-Gol move-pst
I caught your coll.

Where -mi occurs once each in paired clauses the meaning is 'contrastive'. The roles upon which -mi occurs in the two clauses are the same. Thus actor contrasts with actor, undergoer contrasts with undergoer, site contrasts with site.

BT nga-ce-mi apa-ta 'kitaap pin-ci 'ee-ce-mi
I-Agt emp father-Gol book give-pst you-Agt-emp
I gave father a book but you gave him a light.

baTi pin-ci.
light give-pst

T nga-ce-mi ken ca-ci kon-ce-mi 'a-ca.
I-Agt-emp rice eat-pst Kon-Agt-emp neg-eat
I ate rice but Kon didn't.

BR nga-ta-mi 'serngo 'khoo-nem the-ta-mi 'a-'khoo.
I-Gol-emp cold move-pst he-Gol-emp neg-move
I caught a cold but he didn't.

Where -caanyi occurs in a single clause its meaning is 'identified, selected'.

BT the-caanyi-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti pit-ci.
he-emp-Agt child garden-Loc send-pst
He sent the child to the garden (not someone else).

T the-caanyi-ce ken ca-ci.
he-emp-Agt rice eat-pst
He (not someone else) ate the rice.

BR pra loh-ri-caanyi the nah-pala.
year monkey-Loc-emp he be born-pst
It was in the year of the monkey he was born.

Where -caanyi occurs once each in paired clauses the meaning is 'contrastive'. As with -mi 'contrastive', the roles on which -caanyi occurs in the two clauses is the same, that is actor contrasts with actor, or undergoer contrasts with undergoer.

BT nga-ce choo-caanyi 'dihm-Ti then-ci bahr-caanyi 'a-then.
I-Agt rope-emp house-Loc put-pst basket-emp neg-put
I put the rope not the basket in the house.

Where -ka occurs in a dependent clause it means 'instead of'. This occurs in BiTransitive, Intransitive and Receptive clauses only, in which case the clause becomes dependent.

BT ale ramailo mela-ri pip-pala 'a-yihn nga-ce
-young brother fun fair-Loc send-pst neg-be I-Agt
I didn't send younger brother to the fun fair I sent

bacaar-Ti-ka pit-ci.
bazaar-Loc-emp sent-pst
him to the bazaar instead.

I kon 'a-yihn naule-ka bacaar-Ti nyi-ci.
Kon neg-be Naule-emp bazaar-Loc go-pst
Naule went instead of Kon to the bazaar.

BR 'uhcu miih 'a-syi hari-ka syi-ci.
that man neg-die Hari-emp die-pst
Hari died instead of that man.

Where -ka occurs in an independent clause it means 'certainly'. -ka has not been found to occur in the transitive or attributive sets of clauses.

BR nga-ta 'ee-i 'serngo-ka 'khoo-nem.
me-Gol you-of cold-emp move-pst
I've caught your cold for sure.

R 'cu 'gaakare-ka breh-ci.
this waterpot-emp leak-pst
This waterpot leaked for sure.

Where -ka occurs in a dependent clause it means 'contradiction'. This particle is usually used in conjunction with the predicative emphatic particle -syihm, in which case the clause becomes dependent resulting in a construction similar to the English cleft sentence. When -syihm is used, the predicate is nearly always deleted.

BA nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-pala-mi hari-la 'a-yihn
I-Gol cold move-pst-emp Hari-Gen neg-be
It wasn't Hari's cold I caught, it was yours.

'ee-la-ka-syihm.
you-Gen-emp-emp

- BA 'uhcu syaahma 'char-mi the-la 'a-yihn nga-la-ka-syihm.
that skirt new-emp she-Gen neg-be I-Gen-emp-emp
That new skirt isn't hers, it is mine (the skirt that
is new isn't hers it is mine.)

Where -no occurs in a clause it means 'confirmation'.

- BT the-ce-no 'kola bacaar-Ti pit-ci.
he-Agt-emp child bazaar-Loc send-pst
He indeed sent the child to the bazaar.

- R ale-m 'a-'syi acyo-no 'syi-ci.
young brother-emp neg-die older brother-emp die-pst
It was for sure the older brother who died not the
younger one.

- R 'uhcu syi-pa 'pang-pi miih-no 'syi-ci.
that die-pres say-of man-emp die-pst
That man said he would die, and die he did.

- A 'kola-no nga-ta long-pa 'wam-o.
child-emp I-Gol afraid-pres persuade-imp
The child is afraid of me, pacify her.

- A the-la syaahma-no 'char mu-pa 'phuki-no
she-Gen skirt-emp new be-pres kumberband-emp
Her skirt is new as well as her kumberband.

'char mu-pa.
new be-pres

- BT the-ce wahre-mi hari-ta' pim-pala 'a-yihn apa-ta-no.
he-Agt sickle-emp Hari-Gol give-pst neg-he father-Gol-emp
He didn't give the sickle to Hari, for sure he gave it
to father.

Emphatic particles also occur with the predicate adding different shades of meaning, some occurring only in dependent or independent clauses, others functioning in both. A complete analysis of the predicative emphatic particles has not yet been done but so far the following particles seem to be the most commonly used. These include: -m, -mi, -ka, -kaa, -te, -no, and -syihm.

-m. This particle occurs in all clause types, in both independent and dependent clauses. In the independent clause it conveys a meaning of 'confirmation', or 'indeed', while in a dependent clause it alternates with -mi, apparently quite freely,

to mean 'but, even, consequently'. Consider the following examples:

'dehre-m yampu-m 'jahmma-no 'thaa yang-pala-m
now-emp Kathmandu-emp all-emp knowledge find-pst-emp
Now I know indeed all (there is to know) about

asu-i 'dehre-m.
Asu-emp now-emp
Kathmandu, Asu.

nga-ce dhot dhot-bih kring-pala-m cen-ce-m
I-Agt dhot dhot-say cry out-pst-emp leopard-Agt-emp
I cried out, "dhot dhot", but the leopard only looked

jhehn nga-ta cyaa-pa.
all the more I-Gol look at-pres
at me all the more.

-mi. This particle has many meanings not all of which have been analysed yet. So far -mi has been found to occur only in dependent declarative clauses and in independent interrogative clauses. Occurring in dependent clauses it usually means 'but, then', for example:

nga kring-pala-mi cen-ce nga-ta cyaa-pa.
I cry out-pst-emp leopard-Agt I-Gol look at-pres
I cried out but the leopard just looked at me.

-ka. Also has many meanings some of which are 'then, but, and so, certainly, contrary to expectation'. It occurs with the predicate in dependent and independent clauses, as in the following examples:

nga-ce 'a-nyi-ka.
I-Agt neg-go-emp
But I didn't go.

nga-ce chiTi ba-cim-ka 'ee khet-'myang-ci.
I-Agt letter bring-pp-emp you read-find-pst
Contrary to what you thought I brought you a letter to read.

-kaa. So far this particle has been found to occur only in an independent clause with the meaning of 'defiance, doing something not supposed to be done', for example:

the-ce ken ca-ci-kaa.
he-Agt rice eat-pst-emp
He ate the rice (he wasn't supposed to).

nga nyi-pa-kaa.
I go-pres-emp
I will go (despite what you say).

-'te. This particle may occur with predicates in all clause types and conveys a strong emphatic meaning of 'indeed', for example:

cen 'kha-nem-'te.
leopard come-pst-emp
The leopard indeed came.

-no. This particle has been found to occur only with predicates in independent clauses, and has the meaning of 'indeed', for example:

syi-pa-i-la Tanga 'som som-pa-i-la Tanga
die-Nm-Gen-Gen half-rupee three alive-Nm-Gen-Gen half-rupee
The custom of placing one and a half rupee both for the

'som 'juuh-pa-i pe sehng-pala-no.
three put-Nm-Gen custom do-pst-emp
dead and the living has indeed been carried out.

-syihm. This particle also has a meaning of 'certainty, and so, indeed'. It occurs in all clause types but with tense restrictions. For example:

'ee 'kha-pa-syihm.
you come-pres-emp
And so you come!

Emphatic Focus by Permutation to Post Verbal Position.

We have seen that the natural word order in unmarked focus is for the topic to precede the predicate. However, the topic may be emphasised by permutation to a position following the predicate. This applies to all tagmemes whether nuclear or peripheral. This may be illustrated by the following examples.

ta-ci kon 'dehre bis bahrsa.
Evt Voc Time Und
Now twenty years have passed, Kon.

asu-ce-m yampu-m 'khana 'khana kor-jeht-ci tinyi syoo-ri.
Act Loc Loc Evt Time
Where did you go for a stroll around Kathmandu this morning,
Asu?

'dehre-no chyca-la thenyi-'maah-ta-m.
Time State Sit
Now they will receive (the money).

Tup-'maah them-pala 'Tim chyau-'maah-ri.
 Und State Sit
 The threads were placed in the sides (of the loom).

'icu-'maah-ri 'raa-pi 'phinyi-ka cung-pala yaa-ce hoi.
 Sit Und State Inst
 Here (in these places) the weaving comb is caught by
the hand.

ken ca-ci the-ce-no.
 Und Evt Act
 It was indeed he who ate the rice.

B. Systemic Contrast.

The purpose of this section is to determine which of the cells in Figure 5 correspond to the inherent contrastive clause patterns in Tamang. The contrastive features are described according to 1. General Contrasts, which coincide with the features separating rows and columns in Figure 5; and 2. Specific Contrasts, which contrast individual cells with one another, or with certain groups of cells.

1. General Contrasts.

An event in discourse is the narration of something which has actually happened, whereas a state is a statement which refers to anything that is not an event. This includes such statements as: what might have happened, what did not happen, what should have happened; commands, requests and description of setting.

In Tamang the simple past tense is inherently an expression of an event (though negation may be added, thus in a sense 'stativising' it). Stative tenses are inherently an expression of a state.

The contrastive status of the two categories state and event does not rest solely on the optional inflectional possibilities mentioned above. There are also basic stative patterns contrasting with eventive patterns. So that by the inflectional options plus the basic differences the contrast of state versus event, as relevant to the basic clause structure in Tamang, is maintained.

The general contrasts are given below, first as they relate to state and event, and then as they relate to the event side, actor (vs no actor).

State vs Event.

A-set

- a) -stativising
- b) +eventivising
- c) Stative tense states something is in a state.

R-set and T-set

- a) +stativising
- b) -eventivising
- c) Eventive tense shows that something happened at some point in past time.

Examples illustrating stative verbs:

Stative Tense

the khrem-pala.
He was hungry.

nga-la yaa behr-pa.
My hand is cold.

'cu jehppa mu-pa.
This is big.

'cu 'marap 'dihm-ta 'Thik mupa.
This door is all right for the house.

Eventive Tense

the khren-ci.
He hungered.

nga-la yaa behr-ci.
My hand (became) cold.

'cu jehppa ta-ci.
This became big.

'cu 'marap 'dihm-ta 'Thik ta-ci.
This door became (was made) all right for the house.

Examples illustrating eventive verbs:

Eventive Tense

the-ce 'syaahma 'raa-ci.
She wove a skirt.

the-ce 'makai ca-ci.
He ate corn.

the-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
He climbed the hill.

the 'mrang-Ti nyi-ci.
He went to the garden.

- d) Inherent verb, mu- 'is' indicates being in a state.

the-la syaahma bohkta mu-pa.
Her skirt is old.

Stative Tense

the-ce syaahma 'raa-pa.
She weaves a skirt.

the-ce 'makai ca-pa.
He eats corn.

the-ce gahng-Ti krep-pa.
He climbs the hill.

the 'mrang-Ti nyi-pa.
He goes to the garden.

- d) Eventivised mu-ci indicates 'doubt, disbelief'.

naa the-la syaahma bohkta mu-ci.
Maybe her skirt is old.

the 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
She is in the house.

naa the 'dihm-Ti mu-ci.
Maybe she is in the house.

- e) Inherent verb, yihn- 'is'
indicates a state of
existence.

- e) Eventivised yihn-ci indi-
cates 'probability'.

Consider the following examples:

'jahme yihm-pa.
(It) is a daughter.

naa 'jahme yihn-ci.
Maybe (it) is a daughter.

'cu the-la yihm-pa.
This is hers.

naa 'cu the-la yihn-ci.
Maybe this belongs to her.

'uhcu nyamnya baihkalak yihm-pa.
That bird is a swallow.

naa 'uhcu nyamnya
baihkalak yihn-ci.
Maybe that bird is a
swallow.

- f) Modal verb, ta- 'become'
used as an eventiviser.

- f) Indicates 'something can
now happen', or 'action
decided upon'.

Consider the following examples:

yahl ta-ci.
It became light.

'gaahkre breh-sye ta-ci.
The waterpot will leak
now.

'uhcu char ta-ci.
It became new.

the 'breh-pa ta-ci.
Now he can walk.

'kamic jehppo t--ci.
The shirt became big.

the-ce ken ca-sye ta-ci.
He will eat later on.

nga-ce baahra barsa ta-ci.
I am twelve years old.

kon-ce 'mrang-Ti lapu
'jahng-sye ta-ci.
Kon has decided to plant
the radishes in the
garden.

- g) A difference in derivational potential. Compare tree diagrams
of A-set (Figure 21 and 22) with tree diagrams of R- and
T-sets (Figures 19, 20 and 15-18).

State vs Event. No Actor is present (A-set vs R-set).

A-set

R-set

- a) -stativising
b) +eventivising

- a) +stativising
b) -eventivising

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>c) Answer to the question, "What is it like?"</p> <p>d) A difference in derivational potential. Compare A-set tree diagrams (Figures 21 and 22) with R-set tree diagrams (Figures 19 and 20).</p> <p>e) Contrasts involving the modal verb <u>ta-</u> 'become' listed above apply here also.</p> | <p>c) Answers to the question, "What happened to it?"</p> |
|---|---|

Consider the following example:

'dehrem nyesyí ta-ci.
It is now evening.

naki 'syi-sye ta-ci.
The dog will die soon.

Actor (vs no Actor). An event side only. T-set vs R-set.

T-set

- a) Reciprocal action possible.
- b) +Benefactive
- c) Permissive causes double function.
- d) Modal verb ta- 'become' indicates 'action decided upon', or 'action now able to be carried out, happened to'.

R-set

- a) Reciprocal action not possible.
- b) -Benefactive
- c) Permissive does not cause double function.
- d) Modal verb ta- 'become' indicates 'something can now happen', or 'something is about to happen'.

Consider the following examples:

apa 'yu-sye ta-ci.
Father has decided to come down.

'glahp 'syi-sye ta-ci.
The ox will die now.

the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-pa ta-ci.
Now he is able to plant the radishes in the garden.

'dehrem apa ching-sye ta-ci.
Now father will wake up.

the-ce ken ca-pa ta-ci.
He is now able to eat.

nga-ta 'ee-i 'serngo 'khoo-sye ta-ci.
Now I will catch your cold.

nga-ce apa-teng khatu ta-ci.
I happened to meet father.

'ahngka tai-pa ta-ci.
The branch is about to fall.

- e) Modal verb 'syee- 'know' indicates 'knows how to do something'.

- e) Modal verb 'syee- 'know' indicates 'it seems, it looks as though'.

- f) Difference in derivational potential. Compare T-set tree diagrams (Figures 15-18) with R-set diagrams (Figures 19, 20).

Consider the following examples:

the-ce 'raa-pa 'syee-pa.
She knows how to weave.

tamra gahsyng-Ti Duhm-pa
'syee-pa.
The bean plant knows how to
climb up the stick.

the ching-pa 'syee-pa.
It looks as though he is
waking up.

the-ta gahte gyoohe
'serngo 'khoo-pa
'syee-pa.
How quickly she seems to
have caught a cold.

2. Specific Contrasts.

The contrasts listed below do not coincide with those separating whole rows or columns, but rather contrast individual cells with one another, or may contrast a certain group of cells with another group.

Number of nuclear roles.

one role: A, R, I
two roles: BA, BR, ST, T
three roles: BT

Have actors.

I, ST, T, BT

Animate undergoer marked as goal in unmarked focus.

T, BT, A

Clause has an undergoer as object.

T, BT

Clause has a site as an indirect object.

BT, BR, BA

Clause has animate or inanimate actors.

ST, T, BT

Clause takes normal imperative.

I, ST, T, BT

Actor is subject in unmarked focus.

I, ST, T, BT

Undergoer is subject in unmarked focus.

A, BA, R, BR

Clauses requiring an actor with modal verbs buht- 'complete',
'maih- 'inceptive', ta- 'become'.

BA only.

Clauses not requiring an actor with modal verbs.

I, T, BT

C. Contrastive Types.

Commencing with the BiTransitive clause all contrastive

patterns will be illustrated, preceded by a formula of the respective clause type.

BiTransitive Clause Type.

a) with Goal-Site.

S	NP (Agt)	IO	NP (Gol)	O	NP (Umk)	P	VP
+	-----	+	-----	+	-----	+	-----
Act	anim	Sit	anim	Und	anim/ inan	BT	Evt

the-ce apa-ta 'chiTi 'pit-ci.

Act Sit Und Evt

He sent a letter to father.

apa-ce naule-ta wahre pin-ci.

He gave Naule the sickle.

ama-ce nga-ta 'ki 'baih-ci.

Mother brought me some water.

maili-ce nga-ta syit 'cek 'khit-ci.

Maili loaned me some rice.

the-ce nga-ta ra pin-ci.

He gave me a goat.

khekpa-ce 'kola-'maah-ta dahngpo-i peThim syet-ci.

The old man told the children the old customs.

b) with Locative-Site.

S	NP (Agt)	O	NP (Umk)	REF	NP (Loc)	P	VP
+	-----	+	-----	+	-----	+	-----
Act	anim/ inan	Und	item	Sit	inan/ place	BT	Evt

the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-ci.

Act Und Sit Evt

He planted radishes in the garden.

naule-ce choo 'dihm-Ti then-nem.

Naule put the rope in the house.

ama-ce phu-ri ken 'juuh-ci.

Mother put the food on the fire.

the-ce 'ki khore-ri yuu-ci.

She poured water into the bowl.

apa-ce the 'buh-ri 'pit-ci.
Father sent him to the field.

nga-ce kam-ri yaa daah-ci.
I leaned my hand on my chin.

Transitive Clause Type.

S	NP (Agt)	O	NP (Umk/Gol)	P	NP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Act	anim/ inan	Und	item	T	Evt

kon-ce ken ca-ci.
Act 1st Evt
Kon ate (his) food.

theny'-'maah-ce 'sanga 'to-ci.
They beat the millet.

nga-ce ra cyaa-ci.
I saw the goat.

dahpprang-ce 'uhcu 'ki 'thung-ci.
The crow drank that water.

'jahmma-no nyamnya-'mash-ce 'ki 'maih-ci.
All the birds searched for water.

'uhcu mlih-ce the-ta 'to-ci.
That man hit him.

cen-ce ra-ta 'gher-'ti-ci.
The leopard circled round the goat.

nga-ce naule-ta 'ngot-ci.
I called Naule.

sangkul-ce 'gohmpo th'-nem.
The earth tremor cracked the temple.

laapa-ce 'mrap Thong-ci.
The wind closed the door.

mukpa-ce mu kuu-ci.
The cloud covered the sky (it is cloudy).

SemiTransitive Clause Type.

S	NP (Agt)	IO	NP (Accom/Loc)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Act	anim/ inan	Sit	anim/ place	ST	Evt

the-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.

Act Sit Evt

He climbed the hill.

tamra-ce gahsyng-Ti Duhn-ci.

The bean plant climbed the stick.

apa-ce 'sunaap-Ti 'Daah-ci.

Father won the election.

the-ce apa-teng bahng-ci.

He abused father.

the-ce 'bahcaar-Ti kor-ci.

He went for a stroll in the bazaar.

nakca-ce mama-teng 'buhp-ci.

The chicken nestled under the mother hen.

nga-ce apa-teng khatu la-ci.

I met father.

Intransitive Clause Type.

S	NP(+Agt)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+	-----
Act	anim	I	Evt

- a) Motion directed clauses in which peripheral purpose adjunct optionally occurs. Motion verbs include nyi- 'go', 'yu- 'come down', 'kha- 'come up'.

the the-i mring-'maah 'maih-pa-ri nyi-ci.

Act (purpose) Evt

He went to look for his wives.

the-ce nga-la char 'dihm cyaa-pa-ri 'kha-ci.

She came to look at my new house.

cen 'kha-nem.

The leopard came.

'jahmma-no miih 'yu-ci.

All the people came down.

tila syoori the-ce nyi-ci.

He went yesterday morning.

- b) Non-motion directed clauses.

nga-caanyi pherang 'khang-Ti 'nuu-ci.

Act Evt

As for me, I slept on the top bunk.

nyamnya phumpa-i ya-ri net-ci.
The bird sat on the rim of the waterpot.

'uhcu dahpprang ban-Ti 'yahr-ci-ro.
That crow flew (went) into the forest.

apa 'mrang-Ti ayee-ci,
Father went (honorific) to the garden.

'kola-ce yahko-ro kraa-ci.
The child cried a lot.

the-ce nyet-ci.
He laughed.

the-ce kring-ci.
He cried out.

'maki nya-ci.
The buffalo bellowed.

BiReceptive Clause Type.

a) with Goal-Site.

S	NP	IO	NP (Gol)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Und	item	Sit	anim/ inan	BR	Evt

'ee-i 'serng nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
Und Sit Evt
I caught your cold.

the-ta 'syet 'khoo-nem.
She caught lice.

'uhcu wen the-ta shanta 'kha-pa.
Those clothes look well on him.

'uhcu wen-ta yahko 'paisha 'yahr-ci.
A lot of money was spent on that cloth.

the-ta jahro 'kha-ci.
He has fever.

b) with Locative-Site.

S	NP	REF	NP (Loc)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Und	item	Sit	inan	BR	Evt

the pre loh-ri nah-ci.

Und Sit Evt

He was born in the year of the monkey.

'amparu sa-ri tai-ci.

The mangoes dropped to the ground.

nga-la kang 'yungpa-ri 'jehk-ci.

I stubbed my foot on a stone.

Receptive Clause Type.

S	NP	P VP
-----		-----
Und item		R Evt

the 'syi-ci.

Und Evt

He died.

apa ching-ci.

Father awoke.

the-la 'gaahkre breh-ci.

Her waterpot leaked.

'dihm ruhl-ci.

The house fell down.

'uhcu ama-'maah waih-ce breeh-ci.

That woman lost by not being able to answer in song.

'ki khar-ci.

The water dried up.

'kcla-'maah dahr-ci.

The children shivered.

'glihng 'nyuuh-ci.

The snow melted.

byuhrwa 'nyuhl-ci.

The plant withered.

roro 'kram-ci.

The fruit rotted.

mu guhrung-ci.

It thundered (sky bellowed).

tiplik plik-ci.

Lightning flashed.

BiAttributive Clause Type.

(for sub-classes see Derived Patterns, Section IV. B.)

a) with Goal- or Genitive-Site.

S	NP	IO	NP(Gol, Gen)	P	VP
+-----+	+-----+	+-----+	+-----+	+-----+	+-----+
Und	item	Sit	anim/ inan	BA	State

Class (a)

nga baahra bahrsa-la mu-pa.
Und Sit (-Gen) State
I am twelve years old.

Class (b)

tila mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pala.
Time Sit(-Gol) Und State
Yesterday grandmother enjoyed going walking.

kon-ta 'laam sehngpa-ri 'atture mu-pa.
Kon is quick doing his work.

ama-ta 'icu 'rang jeeh-pa.
This colour suits mother.

'cu 'mrap 'dihm-ta 'Thik mu-pa.
This door is all right for the house.

'ee-la wahre-ta jinta 'yu mu-pa.
Your sickle has a small handle.

or 'ee-la wahre-la jinta 'yu mu-pa.
Your sickle has a small handle.

b) with Locative-Site.

S	NP/Cl	REF	NP(Loc)	P	VP
+-----+	+-----+	+-----+	+-----+	+-----+	+-----+
Und	item	Sit	place	BA	state

Class (c)

apa 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
Und Sit State
Father is in the house.

nyi-'maah 'ciranyi 'pangpi-'glaah-ri mu-pa.
We are at a place called Cirani.

the-la yaa-ri kriti mu-pa.
His hands are dirty.

'uhcu wen 'gyahp-ce mu-pala.
That was from behind the cloth.

tor-ce ele kuuti mu-pala.
It was crooked like that from the top.

the 'samet-teng 'blih mu-pa.
Including him, there are four.

Attributive Clause Type.

(for sub-classes see Derived Patterns, Section IV. B.)

S	NP (Umk)	P	VP
+-----	+-----	+-----	+-----
Und	item	A	State

Class (a)

nga-la syaahma 'char mu-pa.
Und State
My skirt is new.

'ee-la 'dihm jehppa mu-pa.
Your house is big.

the bleku mu-pa.
He is lazy.

the rahku mu-pa.
He is intelligent.

'uhcu wen ping mu-pa.
That cloth is blue.

Class (b)

the-la yaa behr-pa.
His hand is cold.

bahr lih-pa.
The basket is heavy.

'ee-la wen jya-pa.
Your cloth is good.

'uhcu 'dohngpo 'no-pa.
That tree is tall.

'jahme yihm-pa.
(It) is a daughter.

nga 'ki phii-pa.
I am thirsty.

the 'khang-pa.
He is cold.

wahre 'chyar-pa.
The sickle is sharp.

'uhcu miih lem-pa.
That man is dumb.

Equative sub-type of the Attributive Clause Type.

S	NP (Umk)	PLA	NP (Umk)	P	VP
Und	item	Cpl		+	state

chhyala wen 'raapi seeh yihm-pa.
A chhyala is a cloth weaving machine.

baihkalak nyamnya yihm-pa.
A baikalak is a bird.

'cu nga-la yihm-pa.
This is mine.

III. INFLECTED PATTERNS.

The Tamang verbal phrase may be viewed as consisting of a number of verbal modifications. These may be semantically classified into the broad categories of mood, tense, aspect, modality, and editorials.

Mood. Mood reflects the psychological atmosphere of an action as interpreted by the speaker. It may indicate that information is being imparted or requested, or an order is being given; it may indicate hope, desire, intention, or doubt. The various moods expressed in Tamang are: declarative, interrogative, imperative, desiderative, hortative, permissive, dubitive, conditional, and intensive.

Tense. Tense in Tamang is relative time in that while stative tenses may cover a span of time (with present tense

extending over into the future), in event the past tense conveys the meaning of an action completed. Four tenses occur, simple past, perfect past, present and future.

Aspect. Aspect refers to a kind of action and its distribution in time. The various aspects include continuous, habitual, durative, inceptive, incessant, sequential and concurrent.

Modality. Modality states a relationship between the statement and actual occurrence. The various modals expressed in the Tamang verbal phrase are: abilitative, compulsive, anticipative, completive, inceptive, factitive, negative, eventive, and reported speech.

Editorials. Editorials express such editorial comments as affirmation, confirmation, and doubt.

A. The Verbal Phrase - Surface Structure.

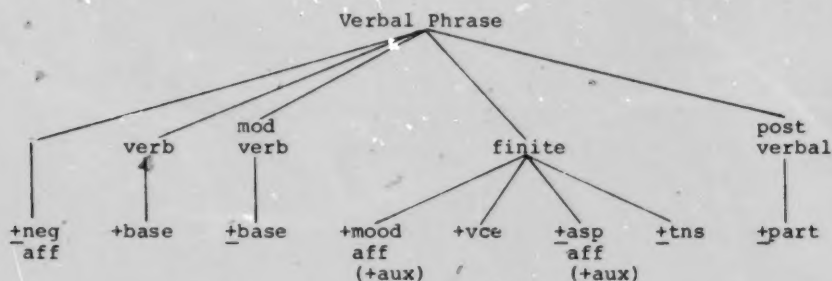


Figure 14. The structure of the verb phrase in Tamang.

The structure of the verb phrase as illustrated in Figure 14 above shows that certain elements occur obligatorily, indicated by a plus sign, while other elements occur optionally, indicated by plus over minus.

1. Nuclear Elements in the Verbal Phrase

The nuclear elements of the verbal phrase are, 1) obligatory verbal base, 2) obligatory mood, 3) obligatory voice, 4) optional aspect, and 5) optional tense.

The Verbal Base. The verbal base gives the lexical meaning to the verb phrase and may be manifested by a BiTransitive, Transitive, SemiTransitive, Intransitive, BiReceptive, Receptive

BiAttributive or Attributive verb stem. It may be manifested by, 1) a single verb stem, 2) by a compound of two verb stems, 3) by noun plus verb, or 4) by adjective plus verb. In a compound base the verbal idea may be singular with one verbal idea modified by the other, or the verbal idea can be double in which case meanings of both elements are expressed.

The Simple Verb Base. The simple verb base consists of only the verb stem, and it is to this that the mood, aspect or tense morphemes are suffixed.

The Compound Verbal Base. In a compound verbal base where the verbal idea is double the first verb may be a BiTransitive, Transitive, SemiTransitive or Receptive verb, and the second verb is an Intransitive verb. The meaning then conveys 'purpose'. Consider the following examples:

BiTransitive plus Intransitive.

the-ce apa-ta 'kitaap pin-nyi-ci.
He went to give father the book

Transitive plus Intransitive.

the-ce ken ca-kha-ci.
He came to eat rice.

SemiTransitive plus Intransitive.

the-ce gahng-Ti kret-nyi-ci.
He went to climb the hill.

Receptive plus Intransitive.

the-ce 'uhcu-ri 'syi-nyi-ci.
He went there to die.

In a compound verbal base where the verbal idea is single the examples so far show that, 1) both the verb stems may be Intransitive, 2) the first verb stem may be Transitive and the second verb stem BiTransitive, or 3) the first verb BiTransitive and the second verb Intransitive. These seem to present more of a formula type of compound and lexically are considered as a single unit. Consider the following examples:

the-ce yampu dooh-'yu-ci.
He arrived in Kathmandu (arrive-come down).

the-ce chyong-'kha-ci.
He came quickly (run-come).

the-ce kaam-ce syol-'kha-ci.
He came straight from work (leave-come).

the-ce 'kola-ta 'ngot-bah-ci.
He called the child (call-bring).

'ee-ce 'chiTi pit-'kha-ci.
Your letter arrived (sent-come).

A further type of verbal compounding occurs when the two verbs are Transitive and BiTransitive respectively. The meaning then is that after the first action has been completed, 'having done something', the second action is carried out. Consider the following examples:

nga-ce tam nyem-bah-ci.
I came to tell you what I heard.
(the word heard-brought)

nga-ce yen 'gluh-bah-ci.
I brought you the cloth I bought.
(cloth bought-brought)

The Nominal Compound Verb Base. As with verbal compounds, nouns also combine with verbs to convey a single verbal idea. The most common nominal compounds are formed with la- 'do'. For example:

ama-ce ken yokta la-pa.
Mother cooks the food.

the-ce nga-la ana-teng 'bhyaa la-ci.
He married my elder sister.

the-ce apa-teng bahcaar-Ti khatu la-ci.
He met father in the bazaar.

the-ce anga 'buih la-ci.
She carried younger sister (on her back).

The Adjective plus Verb Compound. This type of compound, in which the complement is included in the predicate is found in the Attributive clause type only. The complement is usually an adjective. For example:

the-la syaahma 'char mu-pa.
Her skirt is new.

'uhcu 'dihm jehoppa mu-pa.
That house is big.

Mood. As shown previously, the various moods expressed in Tamang are: 1) declarative, 2) interrogative, 3) imperative, 4) desiderative, 5) hortative, 6) permissive, 7) dubitive, 8) conditional, 9) intensive, 10) anticipatory, and 11) concessive.

Declarative Mood. Declarative mood is represented by zero. When this mood is chosen the verbal base connects directly with aspect or tense. For example:

the-ce ken ca-pa.
He eats rice.

Interrogative Mood. The interrogative mood may be manifested in the verbal phrase as an alternate question, a tag question, a rhetorical question, or a content question.

The alternate question indicates that the speaker requests a 'yes' or 'no' answer, and is manifested by 1) -wai being suffixed to the tense affix, or 2) by -cyo which is suffixed directly to the verb stem. With -cyo the question always refers to a past event. It does not occur with the negative verb, 'are 'not'.

Consider the following examples with -wai:

'ee bahcaar-ti nyi-pa-wai?
Are you going to the bazaar?

'ee-ta tinamsyo jyahpa mu-pa-wai 'are?
These days are you well, or not?

Consider the following examples with -cyo:

(nga-ce kring-pa) 'ee-ce thee-cyo?
(I cried out), didn't you hear?

(nga-ce 'uhcu-ri then-ci) 'ee-ce mrang-cyo?
(Father put it there), didn't you see it?

The tag question, which is manifested by -'ampo suffixed to aspect or tense, indicates that an affirmative response is expected. For example:

'saat bace-ke muna ta-pa-'ampo kon?
It is dark at seven o'clock, isn't it, Kon?

namso baahra bace-m dooh-la-'ampo kon nga-ce-m?
I'll arrive by 12 o'clock tomorrow, won't I, Kon?

'kha-u 'pang-pala-'ampo the-ce?
He said, "Come!" didn't he?

So far one type of rhetorical question has been found, in which the morpheme *-ri* functions as a rhetorical negative marker. It occurs following the present tense affix, for example,

'ee-ce 'kheema-ka 'kha-pa-ri?
When will you come? (You know you never come.)

'ee-ce nga-ta 'taa bah-pa-ri?
What will you bring me? (You know you never bring me anything.)

Content questions. In this type of question where information is requested, the verbal phrase is not affected. The interrogative tagmemes are simply added to the clause. These include, 'taale 'why', 'kheema 'when', 'khana 'where', 'taa 'what', and 'khale 'how'.

Imperative Mood. The imperative mood, manifested by the affixes *-o*, *-u*, and *-ko* is suffixed to the verb stem as follows:

- o occurs following closed syllables.
 - u occurs following short open syllables having vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, and *o*.
 - ko occurs following long open syllables or syllables containing vowel glides, *ai*, *oi*, *ui*.
- open syllables with the short vowel *u* take zero.

Consider the following examples:

sehng-o!	Do it!
'Ti-u!	Sit!
waih 'ko-u!	Sing!
naa-ko!	Carry it!
baih-ko	Bring it!
'yu!	Come down!

The honourific affix 'byohng- precedes the verb stem of the Intransitive verbs 'yu- 'come down' and 'kha- 'come up', for example:

'curi 'kha-u!	'curi 'byohng-'kha-u!
Come here!	Please come here!
'yu!	'byohng-'yu!
Come down!	Please come down!

The imperative mood used with a first person subject may also indicate permission requested, for example:

nga wang-'kha-u?	May I come in?
nga Ti-u?	May I sit?
nga brih-u!	Let me write!

Normally the second person pronoun (as actor) is not used with the imperative mood. However, when the imperative form, -ke/-i-'le is suffixed to the stem of certain Intransitive verbs the second person pronoun is also used. As the speaker is included in the action the inclusive particle -eeno occurs with the actor role. If the speaker is excluded the particle -no is used instead of -eeno, and the normal imperative form occurs with the verb stem plus the particle -'le. This form of the imperative may occur in all clause types within the transitive set. -ke occurs following long open syllables and closed syllables. -i occurs following short open syllables.

Consider the following examples:

Speaker included:

'ee-eeno nyi-i-'le.
You go (I'll go too).

'ee-eeno chyang-ke-'le.
You run (I'll run too).

Speaker excluded:

'ee-no nyi-u-'le.
You go (I'm not going).

'ee-no sehng-c-'le.
You do it (I'm not doing it).

'ee-no gahng-Ti kret-o-'le.
You climb the hill (I'm not going to climb it).

Desiderative Mood. The desiderative mood, indicating 'desire' and also 'like to', is manifested by -ke/-i plus the verb 'men-' 'think'. -ke occurs following long open syllables, or closed syllables while -i occurs following short open syllables.

Consider the following examples:

nga sehng-ke 'mem-pa.
I like to do (it).

'ee 'dchrem syee-ke 'mem-pa?
Do you want to go now?

the 'makai ca-i 'mem-pa.
He likes to eat corn.

Hortative Mood. The hortative mood indicates exhortation or suggestion and is manifested by, 1) -khai. When preceded by -ri-, a continuative meaning is added. It is frequently used with an

emphatic particle, -'le; 2) by the suffix -ke/-i plus the optional particle -'le. -ke occurs with a long open syllable or a closed syllable, -i occurs with a short open syllable. The first person plural inclusive pronoun nyang often occurs with this form.

Consider the following examples:

With -khai.

'uhcu mu-'ri-khai.
Let it be.

the-la min ngatcyang ta-khai.
Let his name be great (honoured).

laapa-ce syosyo doh-ri bohr-khai.
Let the wind blow the paper into the courtyard.

the nyi-ri-khai.
Let him go on ahead.

'ki 'yahr-Ti-khai.
Let the water go (it won't spoil the floor).

the nyi-khai-'le.
Let him go.

the ca-khai-'le.
Let him eat (it).

With -ke/-i-'le.

syee-ke!
Let's go!

nyang ca-i-le!
Let's eat!

nyang nyiih chyong-ke-'le!
Let us two run!

nyang-'maah waih ko-i-'le!
Let's all sing!

Permissive Mood. The permissive mood indicates that permission is granted. This is described more fully under the section on Derived Patterns (IV. A. 3).

Dubitive Mood. The dubitive mood indicates doubt and is manifested by -syi suffixed to the verb stem plus the auxiliary verb mu- 'be' plus -na affixed to mu-. Frequently the abbreviated

form, -syi plus -na is used affixed to the main verb stem. Dubitative mood is always used with a third person subject, and refers either to a present or past action.

Consider the following examples:

the 'kha-syi-na mu-na. or the 'kha-syi mu-na.
Maybe she came. Maybe she came.

the sunaap-Ti Daah-syi mu-na.
Maybe he won the election.

the dihm-nang mu-syi mu-na.
Maybe he is inside the house.

Conditional Mood. The conditional mood indicates that an action is conditioned in its occurrence and is manifested by the suffix -sam affixed to the verb stem, for example:

nam 'yu-sam (nga 'a-nyi).
If it rains (I'll not go).

'mal yuu-sam (byuhrwa nopa ta-pa).
If manure is put into the ground (the plants will grow tall).

Intentive Mood. The intentive mood indicates intention and is manifested by, 1) -ke/-i plus the auxiliary verb, bih 'say' in which case the intention appears to be premeditated; 2) -ke/-i-'le which conveys the meaning of a decision just been made and refers only to a first person subject.

Consider the following examples:

With -ke/-i-bih.

nga sawang-Ti nyi-i-bih 'kha-pala.
I said I would come to Sahugaon, and I've come.

the 'raaca sehng-ke-bih nga-ta tii-ret 'raaca 'pang-pung-ci.
He planned to make me king, so one day (he) called me king.

khana syee-ke-bih?
Where do you intend to go?

With -ke/-i-'le.

nga-eeno nyi-i-'le.
I think I'll go too.

nga 'dehrem 'cu 'kaam sehng-ke-'le.
I think I'll do this work now.

Anticipatory or Optative Mood. This indicates that an action is anticipated or hopefully, will happen, and is represented by the auxiliary verb, bih- 'say', which is preceded by the future indefinite tense marker, -la. For example:

apa yampu 'yu-la-bih nga-ce tha-'yu-bih chiTi brih-pala.
I thought father said he would come to Kathmandu, so I wrote telling him not to come.

'karca too-la-bih baih-pala.
I brought the amount I thought we would need.

the namsyo 'kha-la-bih 'chiTi bri-pala.
He wrote that he thought he would come tomorrow.

the 'kaam sehng-la-bih 'kha-pala.
He came hoping to do work.

Concessive Mood. Concessive mood indicates 'although, even if, if ... or not' and is manifested by -le affixed to the verb stem. Usually the emphatic particle -eeno also occurs.

Consider the following examples:

'nam 'yu-le-eeno nga nyi-pa.
Even if it rains I'll go.

ken ca-le-eeno ohtepa 'a-ca-le-eeno ohtepa.
If I eat or I don't eat, that's all right.

nga-ce curi 'kha-u 'pang-le-eeno the 'a-'kha.
Although I said, "Come!", he doesn't come.

The honourific is included in the mood category and is manifested by the morpheme -jeht- which is affixed to the verb stem. Some verbs have an honourific counterpart, but even then -jeht- may still be used.

Consider the following examples:

Verb with no honourific counterpart.

the-ce syosyo brih-jehp-pa. He writes.
the-ce nga-ta chiTi pit-jeht-ci. He sent me a letter.

Verbs with an honourific counterpart.

non-honourific

honourific

nyi-pa	'go'	syee-pa
'Ti-pa	'sit'	syuu-pa
'pang-pa	'say'	sung-pa

ca-pa	'eat'	sol-pa
'syee-pa	'know'	khem-pa

Verbs with the honourific morpheme -jeht- included.

'taa sung-jehp-pa?	What do you say?
the syeehp sol-jehp-pa.	He is eating rice.

Aspect. Aspect includes, 1) continuous, 2) habitual, 3) durative, 4) inceptive, 5) incessant, 6) sequential, and 7) concurrent. They will be discussed in this order.

Continuous Aspect. Continuous Aspect, an action being carried out, is manifested by the morpheme -'Ti-/-'ri- which fluctuates freely following closed or open syllables and is suffixed to the verb stem. For example:

the ken ca-'ri-pa.
He is eating rice.

apa 'mrang-Ti lapu 'jahng-'Ti-pala.
Father was planting radishes in the garden.

Habitual Aspect. Habitual aspect is manifested by the morpheme -syino suffixed to the verb stem plus the auxiliary verb 'Ti 'sit, remain'. It conveys the meaning of an action frequently occurring. For example:

'uhcu dahpprang syoh-'ri 'kha-syino-Ti-pa.
That crow comes every morning.

the-ce chiTi nga-ta maina maina brih-syino-'Ti-pa.
He writes to me every month.

Durative Aspect. Durative aspect indicates that the action continues on without stopping. It is shown by the morpheme -syino suffixed to the verb stem, plus the continuous morpheme -'ri/'Ti. For example:

'kola kraa-syino-'ri-pala.
The child kept on crying.

the-ce 'pang-syino-ri-pala.
He kept on talking.

the-ce lapu 'jahng-syino-'Ti-pa.
He keeps on planting the radishes.

Inceptive Aspect. Inceptive aspect indicates that the action is at the point of happening and is manifested by -ke/-i suffixed to the verb stem plus the auxiliary verb chee 'prepare' plus -'ri. -ke follows short closed syllables and long open syllables and -i follows short open syllables.

the-ce 'paŋ-ke chee-'ri-pa.
He is about to say.

the-ce brih-i chee-'ri-pala.
He was about to write.

Incessant Aspect. Incessant aspect indicates the time aspect of an action in the present and may be translated as 'still'. It is shown by -i-'leng suffixed to the present tense marker, -pa. In rapid speech the vowel of the tense marker elides as shown in the following examples:

the nyi-pa-i-'leng. or the nyi-pi-'leng.
He still goes. He still goes.

the sehng-pi-'leng.
He still does (it).

the 'Ti-pi-'leng.
He still sits.

Sequential Aspect. Sequential aspect indicates that one action has been completed before commencing another. It is shown by the morpheme -cim suffixed to the verb stem in the subordinate clause. This is illustrated in the following examples:

'uhcu dahpprang-ce 'ki mren-na-le 'thung-cim bahn-Ti
That crow having drank until he was satisfied went

yahr-ci ro.
into the forest.

the-ce yaa 'khru-cim ca-ci.
Having washed his hands he ate.

Concurrent Aspect. Concurrent aspect indicates that two actions are going on at the same time. This is manifested in the subordinate clause in three ways: 1) by the morpheme -ma which emphasises the time aspect of the action, 2) by the morpheme -mam which emphasises the action itself, and 3) by the nominaliser -na plus samma 'up to the time of', where again the time element is being stressed.

ra-'maah chi-ri ca-ma nga curi 'Ti-pala.
While the goats grazed, I sat here.

'ee 'uhcu 'gyahm-ce 'kha-mam nga-ce 'ee-ta cyaa-ci.
I saw you while you were coming up the path.

'kola-'maah doh-ri klang-na samma nga 'penTi-ri 'Ti-ci.
While the children played in the courtyard I sat on the verandah.

Tense. The four tenses which occur in Tamang are present (-pa), simple past (-ci or -nem), perfect past (-pala), and future (-syé or -la). As well as expressing the time element, tense affixes also express that, in relation to time, the speaker is certain or uncertain of the action or state. The present and past tenses show certainty, while with the future tense -syé expresses certainty and -la uncertainty. -la occurs with second person subject only in the interrogative. To show uncertainty in the present or perfect past, the dubitive mood is added, but only with a third person subject. Concerning the two simple past tense affixes -ci and -nem, -ci denotes that the action has been observed by the speaker, -nem that the speaker is sure that the action has happened but he didn't see it or that the result of the action has been observed. Consider the following examples:

Present Tense -pa.

the ken ca-pa.
the 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.

He eats rice.
He is in the house.

Past Perfect Tense -pala.

the ken ca-pala.
the 'dihm-Ti mu-pala.

He has eaten rice.
He was in the house.

Future Tense -syé and -la.

the ken ca-syé.
the ken ca-la.

He will eat rice
(time is certain).
He will eat rice
(but the time is uncertain).

Simple Past -ci and -nem.

the-ce ken ca-ci.
the-ce ken ca-nem.

He ate rice (action observed).
He ate the rice (there is no
rice left, result of action
observed).

Auxiliary Verbs. We have seen that certain verbs function as auxiliary verbs in the mood and aspect systems. They have been considered to be auxiliaries since they function as part of the mood or aspect modifier, giving semantic inflection to the main verb, but without causing any involvement of roles within the clause (and thereby supporting a role frame). The following verbs, while functioning elsewhere as main verbs have been described under Mood and Aspect as auxiliary verbs:

'Ti- 'sit, remain'
bih- 'say'

mu- 'be'
chee- 'prepare'

2. Non-nuclear Elements in the Verbal Phrase.

The non-nuclear elements in the verbal phrase are, 1) optional modal base, 2) optional negative, and 3) optional post verbal particles.

Modal Verbs. These verbs and their function are described under Derived Patterns (IV. A. 3).

The Negative. The negative, also included in the modal system, may be indicated by, a) negative affixes, b) by the negative verb 'are.

a) The negative prefixes are 'a-, which occurs with the declarative, interrogative and desiderative moods, and tha-, which occurs with the imperative mood. Consider the following examples:

the-ce ken 'a-ca.	He doesn't eat rice.
the-ce ken 'a-ca-la.	He will not eat rice.
the-ce ken 'a-ca-pala.	He hasn't eaten rice.
tha-ca-u!	Don't eat (it)!

b) The following illustrate the use of the negative verb 'are:

the-ce ken ca-pala 'are.	He hasn't eaten rice.
--------------------------	-----------------------

Post Verbal Particles. Post verbal particles or editorials include such items as reported speech markers, particles which indicate affirmation or doubt. The reported speech markers are -ro and -mu. -ro indicates that the speaker disclaims any responsibility for the statement, and occurs suffixed to the aspect or tense affix.

ken ca-kha-u-ro!
Come and eat (mother said)!

'uhcu-ri them-pala-ro.
(He said he) put it there.

'uhcu dahpprang-ce bahn-Ti 'yahr-ci-ro.
(The story goes that) that crow went into the forest.

-mu indicates that the speaker acknowledges responsibility for the statement made. -mu, only used with a first person subject, is affixed to the verb 'pang- 'say'.

tiyung 'pus-Ti nyehnsye 'khol-'ti-pala-ro 'pang-mu kon.
I heard it said, Kon, that (they) began (the road) in
the month of Pous last year.

the namsyo 'kha-pa 'pang-mu.
I heard him say he will come tomorrow.

The particle Tim/rim, (which freely fluctuates), occurs frequently in discourse and has many meanings, some of which have not yet been analysed. So far it has been found to indicate 'affirmation'. When combined with soT it indicates 'maybe, it looks as though'. Consider the following examples:

'bhatau-ki belo-ri 'nam 'phusphus-le 'yu-ri-pa-'rim.
In the month of Bhatau the rain drizzles down.

'uhcu 'coori-ka cen 'gohng-ri-pa-'rim.
The leopard is sitting there.

cen-ka 'kha-pala-'Tim.
The leopard has come.

the nyi-pa soT-'Tim.
Maybe she has gone (she doesn't answer).

'uhcu wen jyahpa mu-pa soT-'Tim.
It looks as though that cloth is very good (it has all been sold).

B. The Verbal Phrase Illustrated by Paradigm.

The following paradigm, using the verb ca- 'eat' as an example, illustrates the categories described above.

the-ce ken ca-pa.	He eats rice.
the-ce ken ca-ci.	He ate rice.
the-ce ken ca-pala.	He has eaten rice.
the-ce ken ca-sye.	He will eat rice (definite).
the-ce ken ca-la.	He will eat rice (indefinite).
the-ce ken ca-ci-wai?	Did he eat rice?
the-ce ken ca-pa-'ampo?	He ate rice, didn't he?
ken ca-u!	Eat rice!
nga ken ca-u?	May I eat rice?
'ee-eenoken ca-i-'le.	You eat rice (I'll eat too).
'ee-no ken ca-u-'le.	You eat rice (I won't eat).
the ken ca-i 'mem-pa-ro.	He likes to eat rice, he said.
the ken ca-khai-'le!	Let him eat the rice!
nyang 'nyiih ken ca-i-'le!	Let us eat rice!
the-ce ken ca-syi mu-na.	Maybe he eats rice.
the-ce ken ca-sam nga-eeno	If he eats rice, I'll eat
ca-pa.	rice too.
the-ce ken ca-i-bih kha-ci.	He came intending to eat rice.

nga ken ca-i-'le.	I think I'll eat rice.
the ken ca-la-bih kha-ci.	He came hoping to eat rice.
the-ce ken ca-le-eeno nga	Even though he eats rice I
'a-ca.	don't eat (it).
the-ce syeehpa sol-jehp-pa.	He (hon) eats rice.
the-ce ken ca-'ri-pa.	He is eating rice.
the-ce ken ca-syino-'Ti-pa.	He usually eats rice.
the ken ca-syino-'ri-pa.	He continues to eat rice.
the ken ca-i chee-'ri-pa.	He is about to eat rice.
the ken ca-pi-leng-no.	He is still eating rice.
the-ce ken ca-cim yahr-ci.	After eating rice he went.
the-ce ken ca-mam nga curi	While he ate rice I was
'gohng-'Ti-pala.	sitting here.
the-ce ken 'a-ca.	He doesn't eat rice.
the-ce ken 'a-ca-la.	He will not eat rice.
the-ce ken 'a-ca-pala.	He hasn't eaten rice.
the-ce ken ca-pala 'are.	He hasn't eaten rice (a fact).
tha-ca-u!	Don't eat!
the-ce ken ca-ci-ro.	He said he ate the rice.
the ken ca-pa 'kham-pa.	He is able to eat rice.
the ken ca-'myang-pa.	He can eat rice (rice is
	available).
the ken ca-pa 'syee-pa.	He knows how to eat rice.
the ken ca-thoo-pa.	He ought to eat rice.
the ken ca-'yam-pa.	He is about to eat rice.
the-ce ken ca-buht-ci.	He already ate rice.
the-ce ken ca-then-ci.	He finished eating rice.
the-ce ken ca-pa 'mai-pa.	He is ready to eat rice.
the-ce ken ca-pa ta-pa.	He is now able to eat rice.
the-ce ken ca-pala mu-pa.	He has eaten rice (a fact).
the-ce ken ca-pa yihm-pa.	It is true that he eats rice.

IV. DERIVED PATTERNS.

A clause may be considered as belonging inherently to a given cell of the transitivity system only when the following have been realised: 1) all nuclear items are present, 2) all peripheral items have been excluded, and 3) the derivation rules are non-operative within the predicate. Once these conditions have been fulfilled it is then possible by a set of derivation rules to move the clause out of its inherent cell into various other cells of the transitivity system, so that the clause then becomes a derived type. As may be seen in the derivation tree diagrams, given in Section IV. B., a derived type may also be the result of a series of one or more derivations applied to the inherent type. Consider the following example where an inherent Receptive clause, by a series of derivations, becomes a derived Attributive clause.

R	gaahkre breh-ci.	The waterpot leaked.
T	kon-ce gaahkre breh-na la-ci.	Kon caused the waterpot to leak.
S	kon-ce gaahkre breh-na la-pala.	Kon has caused the waterpot to leak.
A	kon-ce gaahkre breh-na la-pala yihm-pa.	It is true that Kon caused the waterpot to leak.

A. Derivational Rules.

There are three major types of rules by which clauses may be derived from one cell into another cell of the transitivity matrix. They are: a) rules that delete the undergoer or site, or both; b) rules that shift from one discourse category to another, that is from state to event or vice versa, and c) rules that cause embedding.

1. Deletion Rules.

Deletion rules which refer to the optional deletion of the undergoer or site roles occur when the deleted items are clearly understood from the context. The most frequent occurrence is in answer to a question.

Within the attributive and receptive sets, deletion of the undergoer or site does not provide any contrast. However, two restrictions within the transitive set prevent certain deletions; both of these restrictions involve the agentive marker, -ce. By the first, the optional vs obligatory use of -ce (optional in Intransitive, obligatory in BiTransitive, Transitive and Semi-Transitive clauses) prevents BiTransitive, Transitive and Semi-Transitive clauses, by the undergoer and/or site deletion rules, from deriving into the Intransitive cell. The second restriction concerns the alternation between the agentive, -ce and the focus marker, -mi in the SemiTransitive clause. Because of this alternation a BiTransitive clause may not be derived (by the undergoer deletion rule) into the SemiTransitive cell.

The deletion rules may be illustrated by the following:

Undergoer Deletion (Ud)

- A nga 'khang-pa.
I am cold.
- Ud C 'khang-pa.
(I) am cold.
- BA 'kola 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
The child is in the house.
- Ud SA 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
(Someone or something) is in the house.

- R naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.
- Ud E 'syi-ci.
(Something or someone) died.
- BR 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
I caught a cold.
- Ud SR nga-ta-eeno 'khoo-nem.
I also caught (the cold).

Site Deletion (sd)

- BA mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
Grandmother enjoys going walking.
- Sd A korpa-ri chuu-pa.
It is pleasant (for someone) to go walking.
- BR 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
I caught a cold.
- Sd R 'serngo 'khoo-nem.
(Someone) caught a cold.
- BT the-ce nga-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
He gave me a book.
- Sd T the-ce 'kitaap pin-ci.
He gave (someone) a book.
2. Shift Rules.

Shift rules include the eventivising rule (Ev) and the stativising rule (Sv).

Eventivising Rule. The eventivising rule derives a clause out of the attributive set into the receptive set by replacing the stative tense affixes by the eventive tense, -ci or -nem, or by substituting the eventive verb ta- for the attributive verb, mu-. The structural change is from being in a state to a change of state. For example:

- A the-la syaahma bohkta mu-pa.
Her skirt is old.
- Ev R the-la syaahma bohkta ta-ci.
Her skirt became old.
- BA mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
Grandmother enjoys going walking.

Ev BR mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-ci.
Grandmother enjoyed going walking.

Normally in the BiReceptive clause an animate site is marked by -ta. However, when the following BiAttributive clause becomes eventivised there is a switching of roles between undergoer and site.

BiAttributive - nga baara barsa-la mu-pa.
I am twelve years old.

BiReceptive - nga-ce baara barsa ta-ci.
I became (am) twelve years old.

In the derived clause the original site, baara barsa, becomes the undergoer (unmarked), while the original undergoer, nga, becomes the site, marked by -ce. As the eventive verb ta- 'become', is not considered to belong to the transitive set but to the receptive set, in the derived BR clause nga is considered to be a site even though marked by the normal agentive marker, -ce.

The derived clause occurs as a response to a question seeking information, whereas the basic clause is a response to a question seeking confirmation. For example:

Ques: 'ee-ce gahte barsa ta-ci?
How old are you?

Ans: nga-ce baara barsa ta-ci.
I am twelve years old.

Ques: 'ee baara barsa-la mu-pa-wai 'teera?
Are you twelve or thirteen years old?

Ans: nga baara barsa-la mu-pa.
I am twelve years old.

From the above then, it seems that -ce may be functioning as a predicate focussing device, as well as a site marker (see Section II. A. 3), and that this type of derivation is a focussing device functioning on a higher level. Analysis of discourse structures, yet to be done, will no doubt shed further light on this.

Stativising Rule. The stativising rule shifts a clause out of the transitive and receptive sets into the stative and attributive sets respectively. The structural change involves a change from the eventive tense to a stative tense. For example:

BT the-ce nga-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
He gave me a book.

- Sv BS the-ce nga-ta 'kitaap pim-pala.
He has given me a book.
- T the-ce ken ca-ci.
He ate rice.
- Sv S the-ce ken ca-pala.
He has eaten rice.
- ST the-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
He climbed the hill.
- Sv SS the-ce gahng-Ti krep-pala.
He has climbed the hill.
- I the nyi-ci.
He went.
- Sv D the nyi-pala.
He has gone.
- BR 'amparu sa-ri 'tai-ci.
The guava dropped on the ground.
- SV BA 'amparu sa-ri tai-pala.
The guava has dropped on the ground.
- R 'naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.
- Sv A 'naki 'syi-pala.
The dog has died.

3. Embedding Rules.

Embedding rules include the causative, permissive, benefactive, modal and factitive rules.

Causative. Causative (Cv) may be applied to all basic clause types.

- Rule 1) Add the nominaliser -na to the verb stem of the clause.
- 2) Add the verb la- 'to do'.
- 3) Add a causer.
- 4) Delete agentive -ce with inanimate actor of embedded clause.

Structural change: The original clause, now an embedded, nominalised clause, becomes the undergoer of the main clause. The added verb becomes the main verb of the causative construction,

that is, the main clause, and the added causer is the actor of this clause. Consider the following examples:

- BT nga-ce apa-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
I gave father a book.
- Cv T kon-ce nga-ce apa-ta 'kitaap pin-na la-ci.
Kon made me give father a book.
- T nga-ce ken ca-ci.
I ate rice.
- Cv T kon-ce nga-ce ken ca-na la-ci.
Kon made me eat rice.
- ST nga-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
I climbed the hill.
- Cv T kon-ce nga-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-ci.
Kon made me climb the hill.
- ST tamra-ce gahsyng-Ti Duhn-ci.
The bean plant climbed the stick.
- Cv T kon-ce tamra gahsyng-Ti Duhn-na la-ci.
Kon caused the bean plant to climb the stick.
- I nga nyi-ci.
I went.
- Cv T kon-ce nga-ta nyi-na la-ci.
Kon made me go.
- BR nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-nem.
I caught a cold.
- Cv T kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-ci.
Kon caused me to catch a cold.
- R naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.
- Cv T kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-ci.
Kon caused the dog to die.
- BA ama-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
It is pleasant for mother to go for a walk.
- Cv T kon-ce ama-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-ci.
Kon caused it to be pleasant for mother to go for a walk.

A byuhrwa no-pa.
The plant is tall.

Cv T kon-ce byuhrwa no-na la-ci.
Kon caused the plant to become tall.

Permissive. Permissive (Pm):

This rule may be applied to all basic clause types other than BR and BA.

- a) add the verb 'pung- 'hit' to the clause.
- b) where the actor of the basic clause is animate, replace the agentive -ce by the goal marker -ta.
- c) add an actor.

Structural change: The permissive verb 'pung- becomes the verb of the main clause. Since the added actor permits the action he is the actor of the main clause. The actor of the basic clause becomes the undergoer of the derived clause. The site (if one occurs) and the verb of the basic clause become the complement of the permissive verb, that is, an extension of the predicate. The verb 'pung- functioning as a main verb in a basic or inherent Transitive clause requires an animate undergoer to be marked by the goal marker -ta. In the permissive clause, where 'pung is now functioning in the main clause as the permissive verb it still requires the goal marker -ta with an animate undergoer. So that the original actor instead of being marked by the agentive -ce, is marked by the goal -ta. The original actor is now in double function as actor of the original clause and undergoer in the derived permissive clause. This only applies to the transitive set of clauses.

Consider the following examples:

BT nga-ce apa-ta 'kitaap pin-ci.
I gave a book to father.

Pm(1) T kon-ce nga-ta apa-ta 'kitaap pim-'pung-ci.
Kon let me give a book to father.

I the nyi-ci.
He went.

Pm(1) T kon-ce the-ta nyi-'pung-ci.
Kon let him go.

R naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.

Pm(1) T kon-ce naki 'syi-'pung-ci.
Kon let the dog die.

A naule 'khang-pa.
Naule is cold.

Pm(1) T kon-ce naule syim-'pung-ci.
Kon allowed Naule to become cool.

Benefactive. The Benefactive (Bv) applies to BT, T, ST, and I clause types.

Rule: In BiTransitive clauses which have an animate site
a) add the verb pim- 'give'.

naule-ce apa-ta chiTi pit-ci.
Naule sent a letter to father.

Rule: In clauses which have no animate site
a) add a benefactee marked with -ta or -i laakiri.
b) add the verb pim- 'give'.

Structural change: The animate site or the added benefactee becomes the benefactive object of pim-. The original actor becomes the benefactive subject actor of pim-. The original undergoer and/or inanimate site together with the original underlying verb becomes the undergoer of the benefactive verb pim-.

BT naule-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-ci.
Naule planted radishes in the garden.

Bv BT naule-ce kon-ta lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-pin-ci.
Naule planted radishes in the garden for Kon.

ST naule gahng-Ti kret-ci.
Naule climbed the hill.

Bv BT naule-ce kon-i-laakiri gahng-Ti kret-pin-ci.
Naule climbed the hill for Kon's benefit.

I naule nyi-ci.
Naule went.

Bv BT naule-ce kon-i-laakiri nyi-pin-ci.
Naule went for Kon (for Kon's benefit).

Modal Verbs. The verbs which have been included in the modal category include, 1) verbs which function within the transitivity system as well as the modal system; these are: 'syee- 'know', then- 'put' (modal - 'complete in relation to action'), 'maih- 'search' (modal - 'about to, to find a way'), ta- 'become', and 2) verbs which function only within the modal system. These include: 'kham- 'physical ability', 'myang- 'able, by favourable circumstances', thoo- 'must, ought', yam- 'about to, expect to', and buh- 'complete, in relation to time'.

The modal verbs may be further classified according to:
 a) those which take a nominalised clause as undergoer, and b)
 those which do not take a nominalised clause as undergoer. Group
 a) consists of the following verbs: 'kham-', 'maih-', and 'ta-'.
 Group b) consists of: 'myang-', 'thoo-', 'yam-', 'buht-', and 'then-'.
 The verb 'syee-' may occur in either group.

Since it seems more natural in Tamang to ask the question
 "what?", than "who?" with modal verbs, it will be seen in the
 following that after applying a modal rule, the clause is derived
 into the receptive set. By re-interpretation of the whole clause
 in relation to the modifying verb the embedded original clause be-
 comes the undergoer of the main clause. This feature is charac-
 teristic of all the modal derivations described below.

There are two rules by which the modal verbs operate in a
 clause. These rules are:

The first of these rules may be applied to all clause types.
 The verb stem is added to the verb stem of the basic clause. The
 embedded basic clause becomes the undergoer of the main clause
 whose verb is the modal verb. For example:

- | | | |
|----|----|--------------------------------------|
| | T | the-ce ken ca-ci. |
| | | He ate the rice. |
| M1 | R | the-ce ken ca-buht-ci. |
| | | He already ate the rice. |
| | BR | nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-nem. |
| | | I caught a cold. |
| M1 | R | nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-'yam-ci. |
| | | I expected to catch a cold. |
| | BA | nga-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa. |
| | | I enjoy going for a walk. |
| M1 | R | nga-ta korpa-ri chuu-'yam-ci. |
| | | I expected to enjoy going for a walk |
| | | (but it was not very pleasant). |

The second of these rules may be applied to all clause types:
 a) nominalise the basic clause by the nominaliser -pa.
 b) add the modal verb.

When this rule is applied, the embedded nominalised clause becomes
 the undergoer of the main clause, the verb of which is the modal
 verb. For example:

- BT the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-ci.
He planted radishes in the garden.
- M1 R the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-pa syee-ci.
He knew how to plant radishes in the garden.
- 'BR 'uhcu roro sa-ri tai-ci.
That fruit dropped on the ground.
- M1 R 'uhcu roro sa-ri tai-pa 'maih-ci.
That fruit is about to fall on the ground.
- 'A naule syim-pa.
Naule is cool.
- M1 R naule syim-pa 'kham-ci.
Naule was able to become cool.

It should be noted that it is grammatically possible to add a modal verb on to another modal verb, and up to four modal verbs may occur, but in normal speech no more than two usually occur. For example:

the-ce lapu 'mrang-Ti 'jahng-buht-thoo-pa.
He should finish planting the radishes in the garden.

Factitive Rule. The factitive rule involves the two Attributive verbs, mu-, and yihn-, both may be translated 'be'.

The verb mu- is used to indicate that the state expressed in the verbal affixes is a fact, whether in reference to a present, past or future time.

Rules: These may be applied to the verb stem of the basic clause:

- a) to indicate present time add one of the aspect morphemes (continuous, habitual, incessant, durative, inceptive aspects may occur), plus the present tense suffix -pa. In the declarative mood only a third person subject may occur in the original clause.
- b) to indicate past time add only the past tense -pala.
- c) to indicate future time, add -syee.
- d) after applying one of the above rules, then add the verb mu-.

Structural change: By the factitive rule, mu- moves a clause into the Attributive cell. The original embedded, nominalised clause becomes the undergoer of the main clause whose verb is mu-. Since the tense markers which are involved in the

factive rule, i.e. -pa 'present', -pala 'past', and -syé 'future' also function as verb nominalisers (see Section V.) for this reason they have been considered here, as having a dual function--that of nominalising the clause as well as that of indicating the time aspect. Consider the following examples:

- BT the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-ci.
She poured water into the waterpot.
- Fv A the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-'ri-pa mu-pa.
(The fact is) she is pouring water into the waterpot.
- the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-pala mu-pa.
She has poured water into the waterpot (it is a fact).
- the-ce gaahkre-ri 'ki yuu-syé mu-pa.
She will pour water into the waterpot (the fact is certain).
- T the-ce ken ca-ci.
He ate rice.
- Fv A the-ce ken ca-pala mu-pa.
He has eaten rice (it is a fact).
- the-ce ken ca-pala mu-pala.
He had eaten rice. (He was in the state of having eaten rice.)
- R naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.
- Fv A naki 'syi-pala mu-pa.
(It is a fact) the dog has died. (It is dead.)

The verb yihn- is used to emphasise the reality of a state and may be translated as 'it is true', 'really'. The factive rules described above, involving mu-, apply to yihn- also, with the following exception: where yihn- occurs, Rule a) may be applied only in a question-answer construction, whereas where mu- occurs it may be applied to the declarative as well as the interrogative.

The structural change resulting from using yihn- is the same as described above for mu-, for example:

- BT kon-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-ci.
Kon sent the child to the garden.
- Fv A kon-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pala yihm-pa.
It is true Kon has sent the child to the garden.

- T kon-ce ken ca-ci.
 Kon ate rice.
- Fv A Ques: kon-ce ken ca-'ri-pa yihm-pa?
 Is Kon really eating rice?
- Ans: kon-ce ken ca-'ri-pa yihm-pa.
 It is true that Kon is eating rice.
- R the sim-ci.
 He is resting.
- Fv A Ques: the sim-'Ti-pa yihm-pa?
 Is he really resting?
- Ans: the sim-'Ti-pa yihm-pa.
 He's really resting.

B. Derivational Patterns.

The same set of derivation rules that has been introduced in the preceding section will now be applied to each cell of the transitivity system which is filled by an inherent clause pattern. Thereby the various derivation potentials of the inherent clauses will become apparent and provide further ground for contrasting the basic clause patterns with one another.

For each clause pattern a tree of derivations will be given. These trees will illustrate the applicability of the rules. The applicability or non-applicability of certain rules will be regarded as a contrast between the tree diagrams and thus further ground may be supplied for contrasting clause patterns.

The conventions used in the tree diagrams below are as follows:

Ev	eventivising
Sv	stativising
Cv	causative
Pm	permissive
Bv	benefactive
Ml	modal
Fv	factive

The numbers on the tree refer to the examples given below.

Derivations of the BiTransitive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the BiTransitive clause pattern are given in Figure 15.

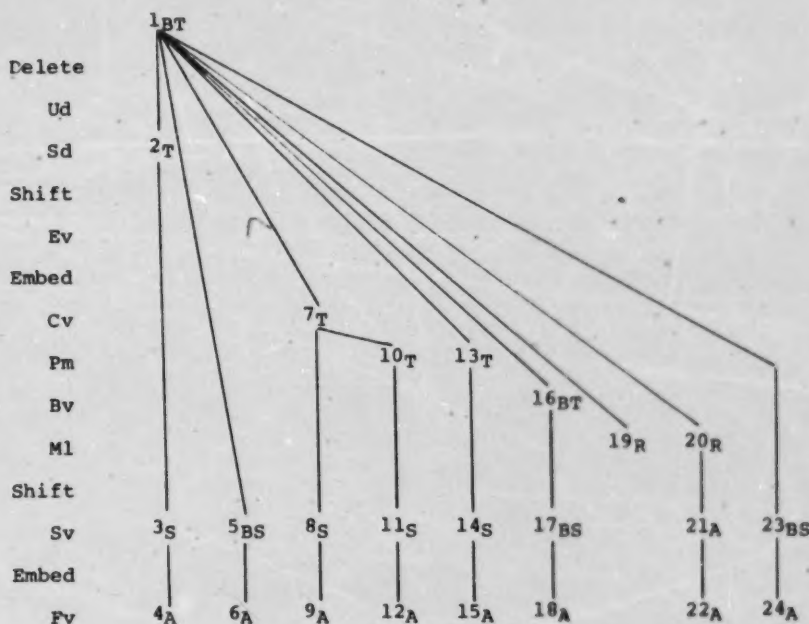


Figure 15. Derivations of a BiTransitive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Bi-Transitive clause.

- 1.BT naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-ci.
Naule sent the child to the garden.
- 2.T naule-ce 'kola 'pit-ci.
Naule sent the child.
- 3.S naule-ce 'kola 'pip-pala.
Naule has sent the child.
- 4.A naule-ce 'kola 'pip-pala mu-pa.
Naule has sent the child (fact).
- 5.BS naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pala.
Naule has sent the child to the garden.
- 6.A naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pala mu-pa.
Naule has sent the child to the garden (fact).

- 7.T kon-ce naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-ci.
Kon caused Naule to send the child to the garden.
- 8.S kon-ce naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-pala.
Kon has caused Naule to send the child to the garden.
- 9.A kon-ce naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused Naule to send the child to the garden (fact).
- 10.T kon-ce nga-ta naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-'pung-ci.
Kon allowed me to cause Naule to send the child to the garden.
- 11.S kon-ce nga-ta naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-'pung-pala.
Kon has allowed me to cause Naule to send the child to the garden.
- 12.A kon-ce nga-ta naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Kon has allowed me to cause Naule to send the child to the garden (fact).
- 13.T kon-ce naule-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-'pung-ci.
Kon let Naule send the child to the garden.
- 14.S kon-ce naule-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-'pung-pala.
Kon has allowed Naule to send the child to the garden.
- 15.A kon-ce naule-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Kon has allowed Naule to send the child to the garden (fact).
- 16.BT naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pin-ci.
Naule sent the child to the garden for Kon's benefit.
- 17.BS naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pim-pala.
Naule has sent the child to the garden for Kon's benefit.
- 18.A naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pip-pim-pala mu-pa.
Naule has sent the child to the garden for Kon's benefit (fact).
- 19.R naule 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-ci.
Naule needed to send the child to the garden.
- 20.R 'ee-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-ci.
You needed to send the child to the garden.
- 21.A 'ee-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-pala.
You ought to have sent the child to the garden.

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22.A 'ee-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-pala mu-pa.
You ought to have sent the child to the garden (fact).

23.BS naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-pala.
Naule should have sent the child to the garden.

24.A naule-ce 'kola 'mrang-Ti 'pit-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Naule should have sent the child to the garden (fact).

Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the Transitive clause pattern are given in Figure 16.

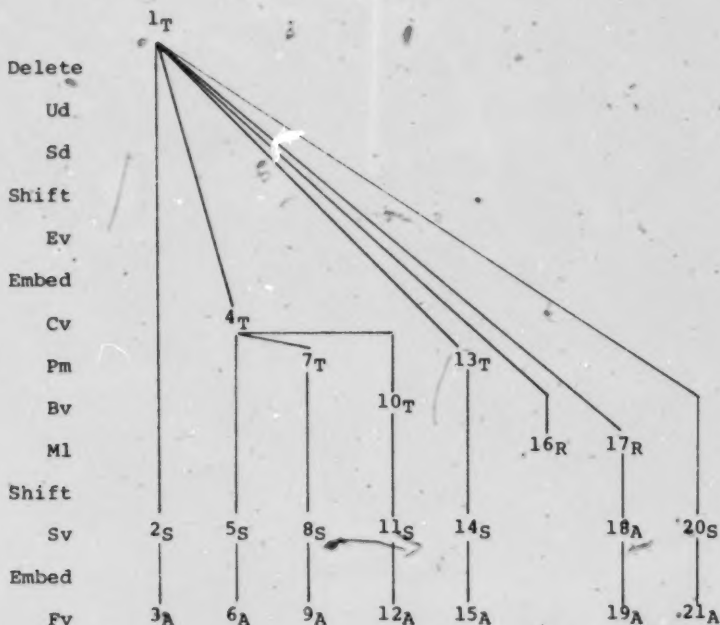


Figure 16. Derivations of a Transitive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Transitive clause.

1.T kon-ce ken ca-ci.
Kon ate rice.

- 2.S kon-ce ken ca-pala.
Kon has eaten rice.
- 3.A kon-ce ken ca-pala mu-pa.
Kon has eaten rice (fact).
- 4.T naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-ci.
Naule caused Kon to eat rice.
- 5.S naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pala.
Naule has caused Kon to eat rice.
- 6.A naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pala mu-pa.
Naule has caused Kon to eat rice (fact).
- 7.T naule-ce kon-ta nga ken ca-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to cause me to eat rice.
- 8.S naule-ce kon-ta nga ken ca-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause me to eat rice.
- 9.A naule-ce kon-ta nga ken ca-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause me to eat rice (fact).
- 10.T naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pin-ci.
Naule caused Kon to eat rice (for Kon's benefit).
- 11.S naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pim-pala.
Naule has caused Kon to eat rice (for Kon's benefit).
- 12.A naule-ce kon-ce ken ca-na la-pim-pala mu-pa.
Naule has caused Kon to eat rice (for Kon's benefit--fact).
- 13.T naule-ce kon-ta ken ca-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to eat rice.
- 14.S naule-ce kon-ta ken ca-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to eat rice.
- 15.A naule-ce kon-ta ken ca-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to eat rice (fact).
- 16.R nga ken ca-thoo-ci.
I needed to eat rice.
- 17.R 'ee-ce ken ca-thoo-ci.
You needed to eat rice.
- 18.A 'ee-ce ken ca-thoo-pala.
You ought to have eaten rice.

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19.A 'ee-ce ken ca-thoo-pala.
You ought to have eaten rice (fact).

20.S kon-ce ken ca-thoo-pala.
Kon ought to have eaten rice.

21.A kon-ce ken ca-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Kon ought to have eaten rice (fact).

Derivations of the SemiTransitive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the SemiTransitive clause pattern are given in Figure 17.

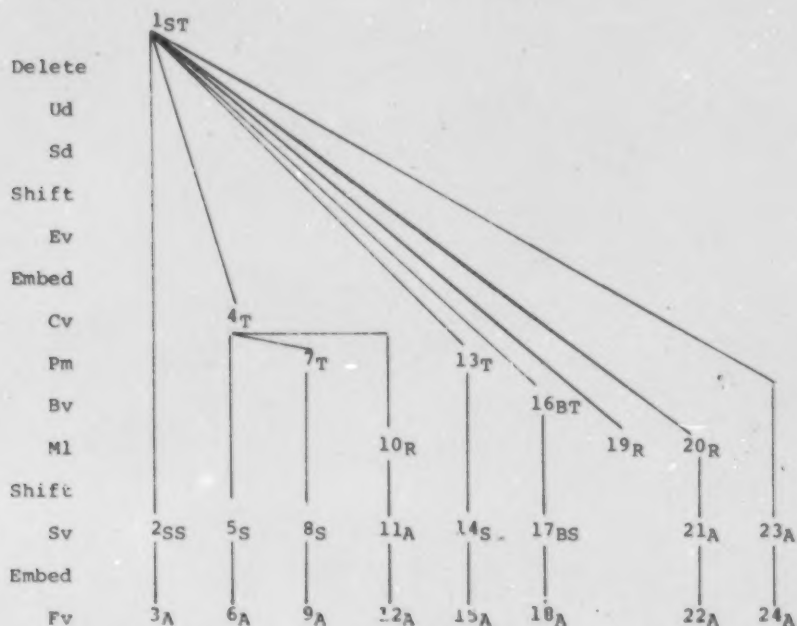


Figure 17. Derivations of a Semi transitive Clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Semi-Transitive clause.

1.ST kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-ci.
Kon climbed the hill.

- 2.SS kon-ce gahng-Ti krep-pala.
Kon has climbed the hill.
- 3.A kon-ce gahng-Ti krep-pala mu-pa.
Kon has climbed the hill (fact).
- 4.T naule-ce kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-ci.
Naule caused Kon to climb the hill.
- 5.S naule-ce kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-pala.
Naule has caused Kon to climb the hill.
- 6.A naule-ce kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-na la-pala mu-pa.
Naule has caused Kon to climb the hill (fact).
- 7.T naule-ce nga-ta kon gahng-Ti kret-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule let me cause Kon to climb the hill.
- 8.S naule-ce nga-ta kon gahng-Ti kret-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to climb the hill.
- 9.A naule-ce nga-ta kon gahng-Ti kret-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to climb the hill (fact).
- 10.R kon-ce tamra-ta gahsyng-Ti Dun-na la-thoo-ci.
Kon needed to make the bean plant climb up the stick.
- 11.A kon-ce tamra-ta gahsyng-Ti Dun-na la-thoo-pala.
Kon should have caused the bean plant to climb up the stick.
- 12.A kon-ce tamra-ta gahsyng-Ti Dun-na la-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Kon should have caused the bean plant to climb up the stick (fact).
- 13.T naule-ce kon-ta gahng-Ti krep-'pung-ci.
Naule let Kon climb the hill.
- 14.S naule-ce kon-ta gahng-Ti krep-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to climb the hill.
- 15.A naule-ce kon-ta gahng-Ti krep-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to climb the hill (fact).
- 16.BT kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri gahng-Ti krep-pin-ci.
Kon climbed the hill for Naule.
- 17.BS kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri gahng-Ti krep-pim-pala.
Kon has climbed the hill for Naule.
- 18.A kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri gahng-Ti krep-pim-pala mu-pa.
Kon has climbed the hill for Naule (fact).

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- 19.R nga gahng-Ti kret-thoo-ci.
I needed to climb the hill.
- 20.R 'ee-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-ci.
You needed to climb the hill.
- 21.A 'ee-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala.
You should have climbed the hill.
- 22.A 'ee-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala mu-pa.
You should have climbed the hill (fact).
- 23.A kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala.
Kon should have climbed the hill.
- 24.A kon-ce gahng-Ti kret-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Kon should have climbed the hill (fact).

Derivations of the Intransitive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the Intransitive clause pattern are given in Figure 18.

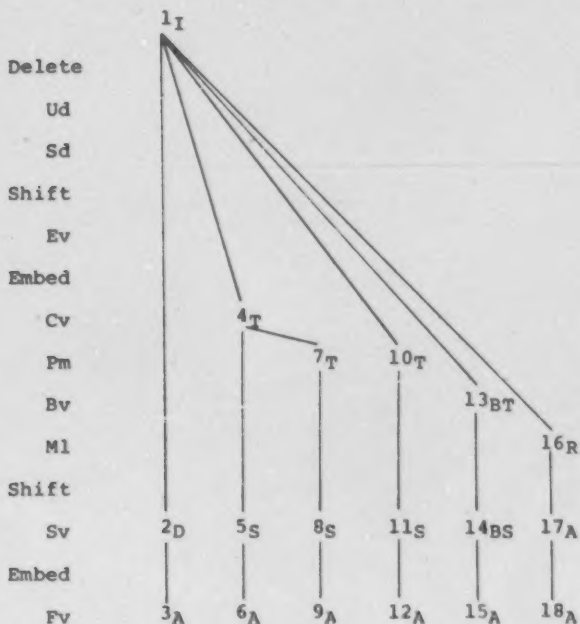


Figure 18. Derivations of an Intransitive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of an Intransitive clause.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|----|--|
| 1.I | kon nyi-ci.
Kon went. | or | kon-ce nyi-ci.
Kon went. |
| 2.D | kon nyi-pala.
Kon has gone. | or | kon-ce nyi-pala.
Kon has gone. |
| 3.A | kon nyi-pala mu-pa.
Kon has gone (fact). | or | kon-ce nyi-pala mu-pa.
Kon has gone (fact). |
| 4.T | naule-ce kon nyi-na la-ci.
Naule caused Kon to go. | | |
| 5.S | naule-ce kon nyi-na la-pala.
Naule has caused Kon to go. | | |
| 6.A | naule-ce kon nyi-na la-pala mu-pa.
Naule has caused Kon to go (fact). | | |
| 7.T | naule-ce nga-ta kon nyi-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed me to cause Kon to go. | | |
| 8.S | naule-ce nga-ta kon nyi-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to go. | | |
| 9.A | naule-ce nga-ta kon nyi-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed me to cause Kon to go (fact). | | |
| 10.T | naule-ce kon-ta nyi-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to go. | | |
| 11.S | naule-ce kon-ta nyi-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to go. | | |
| 12.A | naule-ce kon-ta nyi-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to go (fact). | | |
| 13.BT | kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri nyi-pin-ci.
Kon went for Naule (for Naule's benefit). | | |
| 14.BS | kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri pim-pala.
Kon has gone for Naule. | | |
| 15.A | kon-ce naule-ki-laakiri pim-pala mu-pa.
Kon has gone for Naule (fact). | | |
| 16.R | kon nyi-thoo-ci.
Kon needed to go. | | |

17.A kon nyi-thoo-pala.
Kon should have gone.

18.A kon nyi-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Kon should have gone (fact).

Derivations of the BiReceptive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the BiReceptive clause pattern are given in Figure 19.

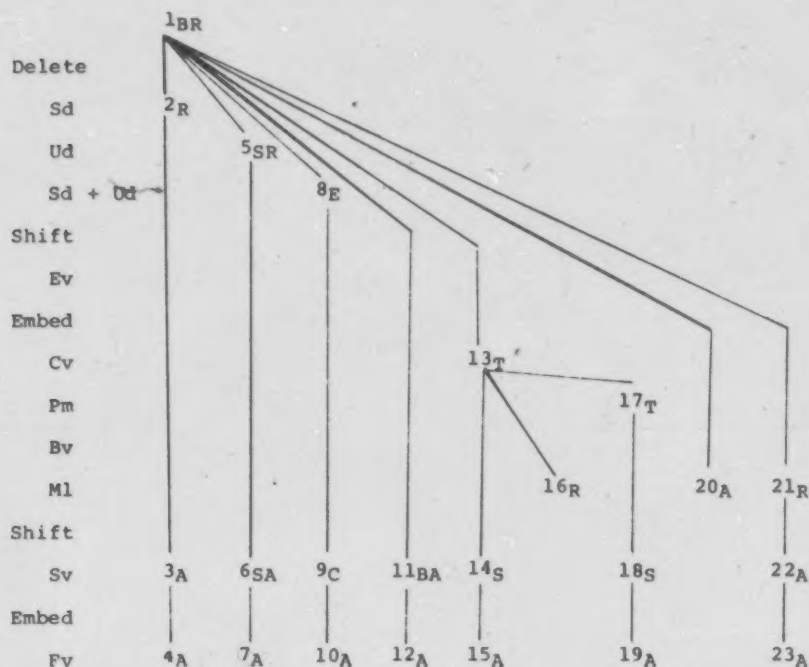


Figure 19. Derivations of a BiReceptive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Bi-Receptive clause.

1.BR 'ee-i 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
I caught your cold.

2.R 'ee-i 'serngo 'khoo-nem.
(Someone) caught your cold.

- 3.A 'serngo 'khoo-pala.
(Someone) has caught (your) cold.
- 4.A 'serngo 'khoo-pala mu-pa.
(Someone) has caught (your) cold (fact).
- 5.SR nga-ta 'khoo-nem.
I caught (the cold).
- 6.SA nga-ta 'khoo-pala.
I have caught (a cold).
- 7.A nga-ta 'khoo-pala mu-pa.
I have caught (a cold--fact).
- 8.E 'khoo-nem-'te.
(Someone) indeed caught (a cold).
- 9.C 'khoo-pala-'te.
(Someone) has indeed caught (a cold).
- 10.A 'khoo-pala mu-pa-'te.
(Someone) has indeed caught (a cold--fact).
- 11.BA 'ee-i 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-pala.
I have caught your cold.
- 12.A 'ee-i 'serngo nga-ta 'khoo-pala mu-pa.
I have caught your cold (fact).
- 13.T kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-ci.
Kon caused me to catch a cold.
- 14.S kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-pala.
Kon has caused me to catch a cold.
- 15.A kon-ce nga-ta 'serngo 'khoo-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused me to catch a cold (fact).
- 16.R kon-ce syet nga-ta 'khoo-na la-pa 'kham-ci.
It became possible for Kon to cause me to become infested with lice.
- 17.T kon-ce naule-ta nga-ta syet 'khoo-na la-'pung-ci.
Kon allowed Naule to cause me to become infested with lice.
- 18.S kon-ce naule-ta nga-ta syet 'khoo-na la-'pung-pala.
Kon has allowed Naule to cause me to become infested with lice.

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- 19.A kon-ce naule-ta nga-ta syet 'khoo-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Kon has allowed Naule to cause me to become infested with lice (fact).
- 20.A 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-pa 'kham-pa.
It is possible for me to be infested by your lice.
- 21.R 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-buht-ci.
I have caught all your lice (they have finished moving to me).
- 22.A 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-buht-pala.
I have already become infested with your lice (they have finished moving to me).
- 23.A 'ee-i syet nga-ta 'khoo-buht-pala mu-pa.
I have already become infested with your lice (they have finished moving to me--fact).

Derivations of the Receptive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the Receptive clause pattern are given in Figure 20.

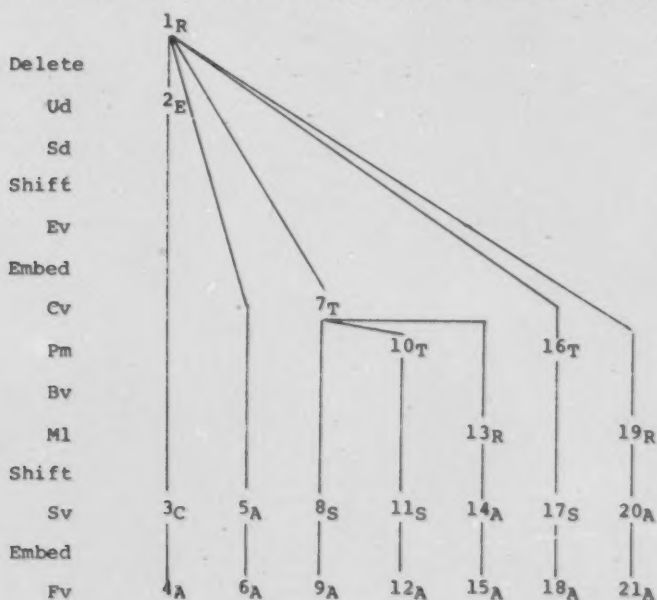


Figure 20. Derivations of a Receptive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Receptive clause.

- 1.R naki 'syi-ci.
The dog died.
- 2.E 'syi-ci.
(It) died.
- 3.C 'syi-pala-'te.
(It) has died.
- 4.A 'syi-pala mu-pa-'te.
(It) has died (fact).
- 5.A naki 'syi-pala.
The dog has died.
- 6.A naki 'syi-pala mu-pa.
The dog has died (fact).
- 7.T kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-ci.
Kon caused the dog to die.
- 8.S kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pala.
Kon has caused the dog to die.
- 9.A kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused the dog to die (fact).
- 10.T naule-ce kon-ta naki 'syi-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to cause the dog to die.
- 11.S naule-ce kon-ta naki 'syi-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause the dog to die.
- 12.A naule-ce kon-ta naki 'syi-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause the dog to die (fact).
- 13.R kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pa 'kham-ci.
It became possible for Kon to cause the dog to die.
- 14.A kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pa 'kham-pala.
Kon was able to cause the dog to die.
- 15.A kon-ce naki 'syi-na la-pa 'kham-pala mu-pa.
Kon was able to cause the dog to die (fact).
- 16.T kon-ce naki 'syi-'pung-ci.
Kon allowed the dog to die.

- 17.S kon-ce naki 'syi-'syi-'pung-pala.
Kon has allowed the dog to die.
- 18.A kon-ce naki 'syi-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Kon has allowed the dog to die (fact).
- 19.R naki 'syi-'yam-ci.
The dog is about ready to die.
- 20.A naki 'syi-'yam-pala.
The dog was about to die.
- 21.A naki 'syi-'yam-pala mu-pa.
The dog was about to die (fact).

Derivations of the BiAttributive Clause Pattern. Derivations of the BiAttributive clause pattern are given in Figure 21.

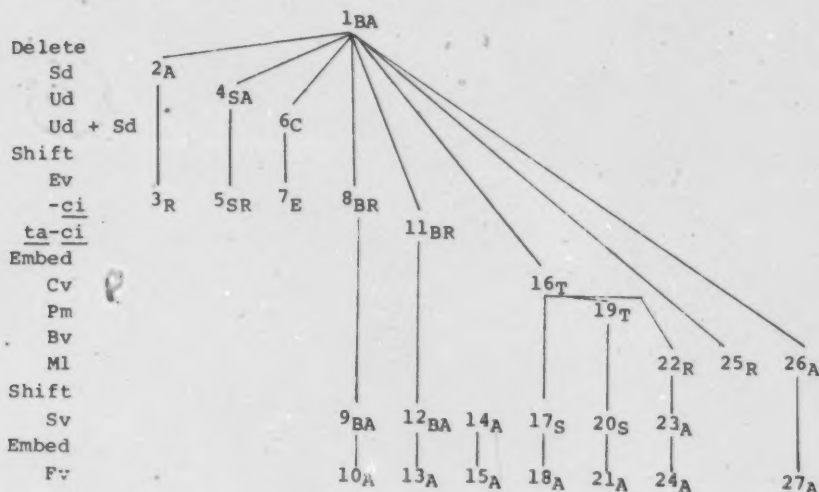


Figure 21. Derivations of a BiAttributive clause.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of a Bi-Attributive clause.

- 1.BA nga baara barsa-la mu-pa.
(a) I am twelve years old.
- (b) mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pa.
It is pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.

- (c) 'kola 'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
The child is in the house.
- 2.A korpa-ri chuu-pa.
Going for a walk is pleasant (for someone).
'kola mu-pa.
The child is (somewhere).
- 3.R korpa-ri chuu-ci.
Going for a walk was pleasant.
- 4.SA mam-ta chuu-pa.
It is pleasant for grandmother (to do something).
'dihm-Ti mu-pa.
(Someone) is in the house.
- 5.SR mam-ta chuu-ci.
It was pleasant for grandmother (to do something).
- 6.C chuu-pa.
Pleasant (something is pleasant for someone).
mu-pa.
Is (someone is somewhere).
- 7.E chuu-ci.
Was pleasant (something was pleasant for someone).
- 8.BR mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-ci.
It became pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.
- 9.BA mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pala.
It was pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.
- 10.A mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-pala mu-pa.
It was pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk (fact).
- 11.BR nga-ce baara barsa ta-ci.
I am (became) twelve years old.
- 12.BA nga-ce baara barsa ta-pala.
I have become twelve years old.
- 13.A nga-ce baara barsa ta-pala mu-pa.
I have become twelve years old (fact).
- 14.A 'kola 'dihm-Ti mu-pala.
The child is in the house.

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'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-pala.
The child has come to be in the house.

- 15.A 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-pala mu-pa.
The child has come to be in the house (fact).

- 16.T kon-ce mam-ta kropa-ri chuu-na la-ci.
Kon caused it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.

kon-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-ci.
Kon caused the child to be in the house.

- 17.S kon-ce mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-pala.
Kon has caused it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.

kon-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-pala.
Kon has caused the child to be in the house.

- 18.A kon-ce mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk (fact).

kon-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused the child to be in the house (fact).

- 19.T naule-ce kon-ta mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to cause it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.

naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-'pung-ci.
Naule allowed Kon to cause the child to be in the house.

- 20.S naule-ce kon-ta mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.

naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-'pung-pala.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause the child to be in the house.

- 21.A naule-ce kon-ta mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause it to be pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk (fact).

naule-ce kon-ta 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Naule has allowed Kon to cause the child to be in the house (fact).

- 22.R naule-ce mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-na la-thoo-ci.
Naule needed to make it pleasant for grandmother to go for a walk.

- naule-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-thoo-ci.
Naule needed to make the child to be in the house.
- 23.A naule-ce mam-ta krop-a-ri chuu-na la-thoo-pala.
Naule should have made it pleasant for grandmother
to go for a walk.
- naule-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-thoo-pala.
Naule should have made the child to be in the house.
- 24.A naule-ce mam-ta krop-a-ri chuu-na la-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Naule should have made it pleasant for grandmother
to go for a walk (fact).
- naule-ce 'kola 'dihm-Ti ta-na la-thoo-pala mu-pa.
Naule should have made the child to be in the house (fact).
- 25.R nga-ta korpa-ri chuu-'yam-ci.
All is ready for me to enjoy going for a walk.
- 26.A mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-'yam-pala.
Grandmother was about to enjoy going for a walk.
- 27.A mam-ta korpa-ri chuu-'yam-pala mu-pa.
Grandmother was about to enjoy going for a walk (fact).

Derivations of the Attributive Clause Pattern. Derivations
of the Attributive clause pattern are given in Figure 22.

The following examples illustrate the derivations of an
Attributive clause.

- 1.A nga-la syaahma bohkta mu-pa.
(a) My skirt is old.
- (b) naule 'khang-pa.
Naule is cold.
- 2.C bohkta mu-pa.
(It) is old.
- 'khang-pa.
(Someone) is cold.
- 3.E 'khang-ci.
(Someone) became cold.
- 4.E bohkta ta-ci.
(Something) became old.
- 5.R naule 'khang-ci.
Naule became cold.

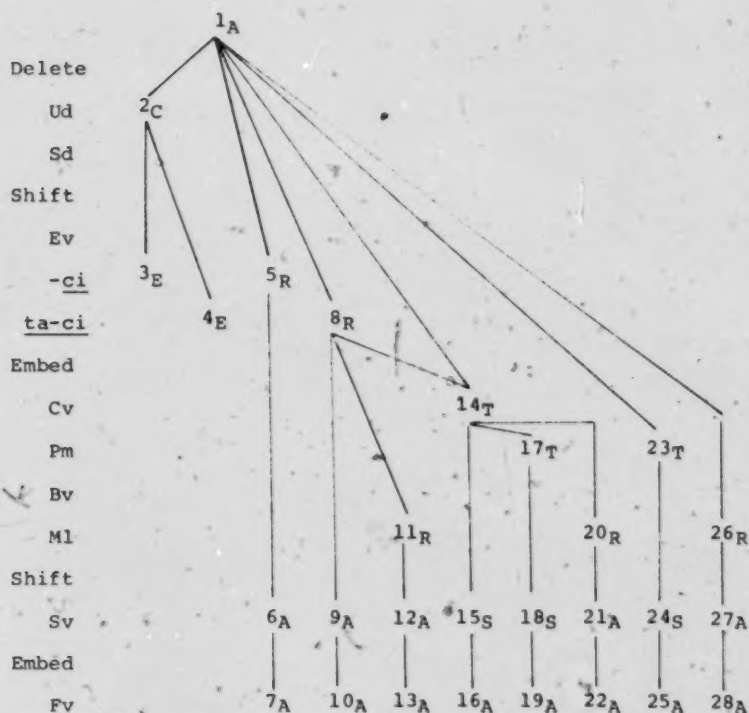


Figure 22. Derivations of an Attributive clause.

- 6.A naule 'khang-pala.
Naule was cold.
- 7.A naule 'khang-pala mu-pa.
Naule was cold (fact).
- 8.R nga-la syāahma bohkta ta-ci.
My skirt became old.
- 9.A nga-la syāahma bohkta ta-pala.
My skirt has become old.
- 10.A nga-la syāahma bohkta ta-pala mu-pa.
My skirt has become old (fact).

- 11.R nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-buht-ci.
My skirt already became old (is worn out).
- 12.A nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-buht-pala.
My skirt has already become old.
- 13.A nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-buht-pala mu-pa.
My skirt has already become old (fact).
- 14.T ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-ci.
Mother caused my skirt to become old (wear out).

kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-ci.
Kon caused Naule to become cold.
- 15.S ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pala.
Mother has caused my skirt to become old.

kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pala.
Kon has caused Naule to become cold.
- 16.A ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pala mu-pa.
Mother has caused my skirt to become old (fact).

kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pala mu-pa.
Kon has caused Naule to become cold (fact).
- 17.T ama-ce nga-ta syaahma bohkta ta-na la-'pung-ci.
Mother allowed me to cause (my) skirt to become old.

nga-ce kon-ta naule 'khang-na la-'pung-ci.
I allowed Kon to cause Naule to become cold.
- 18.S ama-ce nga-ta syaahma bohkta ta-na la-'pung-pala.
Mother has allowed me to cause (my) skirt to become old.

nga-ce kon-ta naule 'khang-na la-'pung-pala.
I have allowed Kon to cause Naule to become cold.
- 19.A ama-ce nga-ta syaahma bohkta ta-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Mother has allowed me to cause (my) skirt to become old (fact).

nga-ce kon-ta naule 'khang-na la-'pung-pala mu-pa.
I have allowed Kon to cause Naule to become cold (fact).
- 20.R ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pa kham-ci.
It became possible for mother to cause my skirt to become old.

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- kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pa 'kham-ci.
It became possible for Kon to cause Naule to become cold.
- 21.A ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pa 'kham-pala.
Mother was able to cause my skirt to become old.
kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pa 'kham-pala.
Kon was able to cause Naule to become cold.
- 22.A ama-ce nga-la syaahma bohkta ta-na la-pa 'kham-pala mu-pa.
Mother was able to cause my skirt to become old (fact).
kon-ce naule 'khang-na la-pa 'kham-pala mu-pa.
Kon was able to cause Naule to become cold (fact).
- 23.T kon-ce naule syim-'pung-ci.
Kon allowed Naule to become cool.
- 24.S kon-ce naule syim-'pung-pala.
Kon has allowed Naule to become cool.
- 25.A kon-ce naule syim-'pung-pala mu-pa.
Kon has allowed Naule to become cool (fact).
- 26.R naule syim-pa 'kham-ci.
It became possible for Naule to be cool.
- 27.A naule syim-pa 'kham-pala.
Naule was able to be cool.
- 28.A naule syim-pa 'kham-pala mu-pa.
Naule was able to be cool (fact).

V. DEPENDENT PATTERNS

The purpose of this section is to show the variants and distribution of dependent clauses in Tamang, that is, clauses which are not independent.

Dependent clauses fill dependent slots on sentence level², or slots on clause or phrase level. They may be classified as the following three types of dependent clauses: 1) dependent nominal clauses, 2) dependent axis-relator clauses, and 3) dependent participial clauses.

The Dependent Nominal Clause. The dependent nominal clause

is formed by adding a nominal affix to the verb stem. The nominal affixes include the affixes -na, -pa, -pala, and -syé. The affixes -pa, -pala and -syé have dual roles, that of marking present, past perfect and future tense respectively (described in Section III. C. e), and that of nominalisers. It is in the function of nominaliser that they have here been described.

The dependent nominal clause is manifested in a noun phrase as a filler of the head slot or as the axis of an axis-relator construction. In the matrix given in Figure 23, which illustrates the distribution of a nominal clause on phrase level, the vertical axis of the matrix gives the nominal affixes while the horizontal axis indicates the function the clause manifests in relation to each nominal affix. A plus sign indicates occurrence as filler of the slot, a blank space indicates non-occurrence.

Function Form	Head	Axis of Axis-Relator Phrase
-pa	x	x
-pala	x	
-syé	x	x
-na		x

Figure 23. Distribution of the dependent nominal clause on phrase level.

The matrix above may be illustrated by the following examples:

The Nominal clause is manifested by -pa as filler of the head slot.

tila nga-ce thaara 'raa-pa cyaa-ci.
Yesterday I saw the weaver weaving.

'cu 'maina 'dihm sehng-pa ta-pa.
It is all right to build the house this month.

It occurs as a filler of the axis slot in an axis-relator construction.

the-ta nyi-pa-ri 'atture mu-pa.
He is quick in his actions.

'uhcu kro-pa-i 'la 'som-ri 'ki khar-pa-ro.
In those three hot months the water dried up.

The nominal clause is manifested by -pala as filler of the head slot.

thuri cheng-pala 'cu yihm-pa.
This is the tool that pulled the shuttle.

nga-ce 'buh moi-pala cyaa-ci.
I saw the ploughed field.

The nominal clause is manifested by -syé as filler of the head slot.

namsyoo nga thaara 'raa-syé cyaa-la.
Tomorrow I will watch the weaving work.

'cu 'la-ri nga 'dihm sehng-syé ta-ci.
I decided I'll build the house this month.

It occurs as filler of the axis slot of an axis-relator construction.

namsyo nga thaara 'raa-syé-i mih cyaa-la.
Tomorrow I'll see the one who will weave.

nga-ta pin-syé-i choota 'kxacu-caanyi jyahpa mu-pa.
(Of these ropes) which good one will (he) give to me?

The nominal clause is manifested by -na as filler of the axis of an axis-relator construction.

'uhcu dahpprang-ce 'ki 'mren-na-le 'thung-cim bahn-Ti
'yahr-ci-ro.
The crow drank until it was satisfied then flew into the forest.

We have seen from the above that when a clause becomes nominalised it may then function in the axis slot of an axis-relator construction³. By the various relator affixes the clause is then distributed as a filler of slots on the phrase, clause or sentence level. The relator affix -i occurs only with a clause nominalised by -pa or -syé to form a relative clause construction. The dependent relative clause fills an attributive slot in the noun phrase, which may then become a filler of a slot on clause or sentence level. On the clause level the relative clause (embedded in the noun phrase) may fill all slots except reason and manner.

The matrix given in Figure 24 illustrates the distribution of the axis-relator construction on the phrase and clause levels. The vertical axis gives the relators while the horizontal axis indicates the functions the clause manifests in conjunction with

each relator. A plus sign indicates occurrence within a slot, a blank space indicates non-occurrence.

Function Form	Phrase Level	Clause Level									
	Att	S	T	L	Ps	R _s	Acc	I	IO	O	M
-i	x										
-ce		x				x		x			
-ri		x	x	x	x						
-samma			x				x				
-teng											
-ta									x	x	
-le											x

Figure 24. Distribution of the axis-relator construction on phrase and clause level.

The above matrix may be illustrated by the following examples:

The dependent nominal clause functions on phrase level, occurring with the relator -i.

tila 'na-pa-i ('na-pi) mih 'syi-ci.
The man who was sick died yesterday.

The dependent nominal clause functions on clause level, occurring with the relator -ce, as filler of the subject slot.

sehng-pa-'maah-ce 'kha-ci.
The workers came.

It occurs as filler of the reason slot.

cen long-pa-ce 'yahr-ci.
The leopard went away out of fear.

It occurs as filler of the instrument slot.

'cu 'chyar-pa-ce thaa-pa 'kham-pa.
You can cut with the sharp one.

It occurs with the relator -ri, functioning as filler of the subject slot.

kor-pa-ri nga-ta chuu-pa.
It is pleasant for me to go walking.

It functions as filler of the time slot (embedded in the noun phrase).

ken ca-pi belo-ri 'kha-u.
Come at (rice) eating time.

It functions as filler of the locative slot (embedded in the noun phrase).

nyi-'maah ciranyi 'pang-pi 'glaah-ri mu-pa.
We are at a place called Cirani.

It functions as filler of the purpose slot.

the yen 'khru-pa-ri nyi-pa.
She is going to wash clothes.

It occurs with the relator 'samma, functioning as the filler of a time slot (embedded in the noun phrase).

'ee 'cu 'kaam sehng-pi belo 'samma syuu-ko.
Please sit while I (finish) do this work.

It occurs with the relator -teng, functioning as filler of the accompaniment slot.

nga waih 'ko-pa-'maah-teng sya-pa.
I dance with the singers.

It occurs with the relator -ta, functioning as filler of the indirect object slot.

the-ce kaam sehng-pa-ta tam syet-ci.
He told it to the one working.

It functions as filler of the object slot.

the-ce kring-pa-ta 'to-ci.
He hit the one crying out.

It occurs with the relator -le, functioning as filler of the manner slot.

'ee 'cu 'kaam jya-pa-le (jyap-le) sehng-thoo-pa.
You should do this work well.

'ee 'cu men nyesyi 'samma behna-le 'thung-thoo-pa.
You should take this medicine so as to finish it by evening.

The Dependent Axis-Relator Clause. The dependent axis-relator clauses, which typically occur in the margin slot of a sentence, may be classified as follows:

- a) Sequential, manifested by the relators -teng, -saat;
- b) Concessive, manifested by the relators -la or -ma;
- c) Anticipatory, manifested by the relator -la bih;
- d) Intensive, manifested by the relator -ke bih;
- e) Reason, manifested by the relators -ri, -i gyam-ce, or -nyehnsye;
- f) Concurrent, manifested by the relator 'samma.

The dependent sequential, reason and concurrent clauses have as a filler of the axis slot, a nominalised clause (nominalised by -pa, -ma or -na), while the concessive, anticipatory, and intensive dependent clauses have a non-nominalised clause as filler of the axis slot. From the above listing it will be seen that the relator tagmemes may be either a simple relator (affix only), or a compound relator.

The following examples illustrate the types given above:

Dependent Sequential Clause relator, -teng.

nga-la 'ket thee-pa-teng-mi 'jhen bahng-ce phuphu-bih
na rap-pa.
After hearing my voice (the cow) bellowed all the more.

'naak-ki goh-ri tam-pa-teng 'paap 'kha-pa.
After striking the snake on the back sin comes.

Dependent Sequential Clause relator, -saat, -saat-cem, or -cem.

the-m 'nuu-pa-saat-mi bhuhsuhka mehr-pa.
As soon as he lies down he goes sound asleep.

the reeh-pa-saat-cem 'pheeri-m nyiih-no 'syng bah-cim
me phut-cim 'Ti-ci.
As soon as he got up we two brought wood, lit the fire and
sat down.

the ken ca-pa-cem nyi-ci.
As soon as he ate rice he went.

'As soon as' may also be expressed by a repetition of the verb in a formula type construction as seen in the following examples:

nga 'kaam-ce syol-teng 'a-syol-no chyong 'kha-pala.
As soon as I left work I came quickly.

nga-ce tam 'pang-ke-chee-'ri-teng 'a-chee-no the-ce 'pang-ke
chee-ci.

As soon as I began to speak he began to speak.

Concession. The dependent concessive clause, which is manifested by the compound relator -la-eeno (-le-eeno), or by -ma-eeno (-me-eeno) indicates 'although, even though'. Consider the following examples:

The Dependent Concessive Clause Relator, -la-eeno et. al.

'nam 'yu-le-eeno nga nyi-pa.
Even though it rains, I'll go.

'pheeri nga-m 'nuu-le-eeno mehr-pa 'a-'kham.
Although I lie down again, I can't sleep.

kon-ce ken ca-le-eeno nga-ce makai ca-pa.
Although Kon eats rice, I eat corn.

'ki 'khana 'maih-ma-eeno 'ki 'a-yang-pa-ro.
Although (they) search for water (they) do not find any.

oh tee-le kring-me-eeno 'ee-ce 'a-chor-pa.
Even though (I) cry out like that you don't hear (me).

Anticipation, this dependent clause type which indicates what a person thinks about a certain situation is manifested by the compound relator consisting of the indefinite future tense marker, -la + auxiliary verb bih 'say'. For example:

The Dependent Anticipatory Clause Relator, -la bih.

the 'kaam sehng-la-bih 'kha-pala.
He came hoping to do work.

the yampu 'yu-la-bih nga-ce tha-'yu 'pang-pala.
He hoped to come to Kathmandu (but) I wrote saying,
"Don't come."

Intention. This is manifested by the compound relator consisting of -ke/-i + the auxiliary verb, bih 'say' as shown in the following examples:

The Dependent Intentionive Clause Relator, -ke/-i bih.

the bacaar-Ti nyi-i-bih 'yahr-ci.
He went, intending to go to the bazaar.

the 'kaam sehng-ke-bih 'kha-pala.
He came, intending to work.

The dependent reason clause, manifested by -ri, also indicates time.

The Dependent Reason Clause Relator, -ri.

nga-ce syosyo brih-pa-ri 'ee-ta bohmo 'kha-ci.
Because (and when) I was writing you became angry.

The Dependent Reason Clause Relator, -i gyahm-ce.

nga-la kang na-pa-i 'gyahm-ce nyi-pa 'a-'kham.
Because my foot aches, I cannot go.

The Dependent Reason Clause Relator, -nyehnsye.

'uhcu miih nga-la 'dihm kha-ma-nyehnsye nga 'a-long.
Since that man came to my house I am not afraid.

The Dependent Concurrent Clause Relator, 'samma.

ama thaara 'raa-na 'samma 'kola doh-ri klang-pa.
While mother weaves the child plays in the courtyard.

The Dependent Participial Clause. The dependent participial clause also occurs in the margin slot of a sentence. There are three types of participial clauses: 1) sequential, 2) concurrent, and 3) conditional.

The dependent sequential participial clause is manifested in the predicate by the past particle -cim, and indicates 'having done'. Consider the following examples:

The Dependent Sequential Participial Clause.

nyamnya-'maah 'ki phii-cim syi-'yam-pa-ro.
Having become thirsty, the birds are about to die.

'phumpa 'Deht 'ki mrang-cim 'thung-'a-'kham-na 'dooh-cim
Seeing the waterpot half filled with water and not being

'yahr-pa-ro.
able to drink (the birds) turn around and fly away.

The dependent concurrent participial clause is manifested in the predicate by the present participles -ma or -mam, and indicates two simultaneous actions. Where -ma occurs the focus is upon the time element, where -mam occurs the action expressed in the verb is in focus. This may be illustrated by the following examples:

The Dependent Concurrent Participial Clause occurring with -ma.

'uhcu iskul-Ti 'khep-ma 'ee-ce nga-la ale 'thaa yang-ci?
When you studied at the school did you know my younger brother?

'ee-ce yampu-ri 'khet-'yu-ma 'jahmma 'kharca gahte ta-nem?
How much did it cost both in coming down and while you studied in Kathmandu?

'uhcu 'dihm sehng-ma 'maina 'nyiih 'gyeeh-ci.
Two months passed while that house was being built.

The Dependent Concurrent Participial Clause occurring with -mam.

sertung-Ti 'dooh-'yu-mam 'angsa 'juh-pa-ro.
When we arrive at Sertung we divide the land.

the wen gluh-mam nga cyaa-ri-pala.
While she bought cloth I was looking on.

apa-'mahh-ce 'bohngsye sehng-mam ama-'maah 'buh 'suu-pa.
While the men prepare the field the women plant the rice.

Often -ma and -mam may be used interchangeably to give the same meaning, for example:

wen 'gluh-ma 'baih-ce 'taa 'pang-ci?
What did the merchant say to you while you were buying the cloth?

or wen 'gluh-mam 'baih-ce 'taa 'pang-ci?
What did the merchant say to you while you were buying the cloth?

bacaar-Ti nyi-ma apa cyaa-ci?
When you went to the bazaar did you see father?

or bacaar-Ti nyi-mam apa cyaa-ci?
When you went to the bazaar did you see father?

The dependent conditional participial clause, manifested in the predicate by the subjunctive participle -sam, indicates 'if'. For example:

The Dependent Subjunctive Participial Clause.

'nam 'yu-sam nga 'a-nyi.
If it rains I'll not go.

'pheeri 'kha-sam nga 'bantuk-ce 'pung-pa.
If (the leopard) comes again I will shoot it.

'paisa 'yoo-sam 'gluh-pa 'kham-pa.
If there is enough money (you) can buy (it).

APPENDIX A: Abbreviations.

A	Attributive (Box 4 label)
Act	actor
Accom / Acc	accompaniment
advbl	adverbial
Aff	affix
Agt	agent
anim	animate
Ans	Answer
Asc	association
Asp	aspect
Att	attributive (Box 1 label)
Aux	auxiliary
BA	BiAttributive
BR	BiReceptive
BS	BiStative
BT	BiTransitive
C	Circumstantial
Cl	clause
conj	conjunctive
cont	continuous
Cpl	complement
D	Descriptive
Em / emp	emphatic
Evt	event
Gen	genitive
ger	gerund
Gol	goal
hes	hesitation.
I	Intransitive (Box 4 label), Instrument (Box 1 label)
inan	inanimate
Inst	instrument
IO	indirect object
L / Loc	locative
M	manner
Mod	modal
Neg	negative
NL	Nepali loan verb
NM	nominal
NP	noun phrase
O	object
P	predicate
part	particle
PEX	predicate extension
pl	plural
Pp	past participle
pres	present
Ps	purpose
pst	past
pt1	simple past tense
pt2	past perfect tense
pt3	immediate past tense

purp	purpose
qm	question marker
R	Receptive
REF	referent
Rs	reason
S	subject
SA	SemiAttributive
Sing	singular
Sit	site
SR	SemiReceptive
Src	source
SS	SemiStative
Sta	statant
T	Transitive (Box 4 label), time (Box 1 label)
Tns	tense
Umk	unmarked
Und	undergoer
Vb	verb
vce	voice
voc	vocative
VP	verb phrase

APPENDIX B: Text.

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed

1. tiyung neyung 'kola-ri syipatangpa
last year year before last childhood-at Syipatangpa
- teng nga 'bhatau 'asausa kyor 'bhohrlo 'gohra-ri 'Ti-pa //
and I Bhadra Ashwin about Bhorlo cattleshed-at stay-pres
2. nyeshi-ri-m 'nyiih-no paalo-'le yokta la-cim
evening-at-emp we two-emp by turn-advbl (cook food)-conj
- ca-pa syihm 'nyiih-no 'tangku 'thung-pa // 3. tor mor
eat-pres and we two-emp tobacco drink-pres up down
- baat la-pa khimce kor-pa la-cim muhna-i 'nau
conversation do-pres neighbour walk-pres do-conj night-of nine
- 'das bace kyor-ki 'Tem-Ti 'nyiih-no 'nuu-pa // 4. the-caanyi
ten o'clock about-of time-at we two-emp rest-pres he-emp
- 'dunngTi 'nuu-pa nga-caanyi pherang 'khyang-Ti 'khyang joh-ri
beneath rest-pres I-emp above bed-on bed top-on
- 'nuu-pa // 5. the-m 'nuu-pa-saat-mi bhuhsukka mehr-pa
rest-pres he-emp rest-pres-as soon-emp completely sleep-pres

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

- nga-mi 'nuu-cim-eno 'yam-ta-m phasak phasak 'a-mehr-
I-emp rest-conj-also a moment-for-emp (restless) Neg-sleep-
pa // 6. 'tii-ret muhna 'cyam syor-pa-m 'cyam 'pung-pa-ri
pres one-time night urine take-pres-emp (urinate)-pres-purp
- nyi-ci 'nam 'phusphusle yu-ri-pala // 7. 'bhatau-ki
go-pt₁ rain softly drizzle come down-cont-pt₂ Bhadra-of
- behlo-ri 'nam 'phusphusle yu-ri-pa-rim // 8. nga
time-at rain softly drizzle come down-cont-pres-fact I
- cyam 'pung-cim nga-m 'pheeri-m 'nuu-ci // 9. syipatangpa-
(urinate) -conj I-emp again-emp rest-pt₁ Syipatangpa-
- caanyi-ce-m 'a-chor // 10. 'pheeri nga-m 'kyongle 'nuu-
emp-Agt-emp Neg-know then I-emp (legs straight) rest-
- ri-pala, ah 'gahte-eno mehr-pa 'a-'kham // 11. 'meh-
cont-pt₂ hes how much-also sleep-pres Neg-able cow-
- ce mor-ce 'meh-ce 'yahm-ce 'yahm-no na rap-pa 'phii
Agt down-from cow-Agt (again and again)-emp nose blow-pres phii
- 'phii-bih na rap-pa // 12. ra-'maah-eno kang rap-pa //
phii-advbl nose blow-pres goat-pl-also foot beat-pres
13. 'meh-'maah-caanyi-eno 'meh-'maah-caanyi na rap-pa
cow-pl-emp-also cow-pl-emp nose blow-pres
- ra-'maah-caanyi-eno kang rap-pa // 14. hohl-la-cim nga-
goat-pl-emp-also foot beat-pres like that-do-conj I-
- caanyi-m 'meh-ta cyaa-cim 'meh-ta 'pang-pa // 15. 'meh-mi
emp-emp cow-to look at-conj cow-to say-pres cow-emp
- 'yahm-ce 'yahm-no nga-la 'ket thee-pa teng-mi 'jhehn
(again and again)-emp I-of voice hear-pres after-emp (all the
- bahng-ce phu phu-bih na rap-pa // 16. hohl-la-
more) strength-Inst phu phu-advbl nose blow-pres like that-do-
- mam nga-m 'pheeri 'meh-ta cyaa-pala-m 'meh-caanyi mor-ce
while I-emp again cow-to look at-pt₂-emp cow-emp below-from
- ngohn-cim phu phu-le na rap-ti-pa-rim kra
look other way-conj phu phu-advbl nose blow-cont-pres-fact head
- 'lihp-Ti-pa-rim // 17. 'pheeri nga-eno mor-ce cyaa-
shake-cont-pres-fact then I-also down-towards look at-

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

pala-m 'huhcu 'coori-ka cen 'gohng-ri-pa-rim // 18. nga
pt₂-emp that near-emp leopard sit-cont-pres-fact I

reeh-cim nga kring-pala-mi cen-ce nga-ta cyaa-pa //
rise up-conj I cry out-pt₂-emp leopard-Agt I-to look at-pres

19. nga-i kutto-'maah-ri 'lii-'maah-ri-m cen-ki 'mii-ki
I-of chest-pl-at fact-pl-on-emp leopard-of eye-of

Tak yohbaati-la rahng-le 'kha-pa // 20. nga-ce kring-
gleam torch-of (like)-advbl come-pres I-Agt cry out-

pa // 21. cen-caanyi nga 'kola-'maah-ki sor thee-cim 'ket
pres leopard-emp I child-pl-of voice hear-conj voice

thee-cim the-caanyi-m 'patai-'a-'ti-nale cyaa-pa //
hear-conj it-emp-emp agreeable-Neg-NL-advbl look at-pres

22. hohl-la-cim 'bahl la 'bahl the 'dooh-cim
like that-do-conj (at last) it turn around-conj

'yahr-ci // 23. duhng-ki 'gahra-ri lapu 'jahng-pala mu-pala //
go-pt₁ below-of field-at radish sow-pt₂ be-pt₂

24. the 'dooh-cim 'yahr-pa-saat-cem 'pheeri nga-ce-m
it turn around-conj go-pres-(as soon as) then I-Agt-emp

syipatangpa-ta ching-ci // 25. syipatangpa-ta 'khol 'khol
Syipatangpa-to wake up-pt₁ Syipatangpa-to (here and there)

'sik 'sik-le ching-cim the reeh-pa-saat-
(this side, that side)-advbl wake up-conj he rise up-pres-

cem 'pheeri-m 'nyiih-no 'syng bah-cim me phut-
(as soon as) then-emp we two-emp wood bring-conj fire light-

cim 'Ti-ci // 26. nga-ce syipatangpa-ta 'pang-ci nga-ce
conj sit-pt₁ I-Agt Syipatangpa-to say-pt₁ I-Agt

kring-pa 'ee-ce thee-cyo // 27. syipatangpa-ce 'pang-ci
cry out-pres you-Agt hear-qm Syipatangpa-Agt say-pt₁

nga-ce 'a-thee // 28. 'tinyi gohra 'chyoo-ri cen 'kha-cim
I-Agt Neg-hear today cowshed side-at leopard come-conj

cen 'gohng-Ti-pala // 29. 'meh-ce na rap-cim nga-ce
leopard sit-pres-pt₂ cow-Agt nose blow-conj I-Agt

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

- cyaa-pala-m cen 'kha-pala-Tim // 30. nga-ce 'dhot
look at-pt₂-emp leopard come-pt₂-fact I-Agt dhot
- 'dhot-bih kring-pala-m cen-ce-m 'jhen nga-ta
dhot-advbl cry out-pt₂-emp leopard-Agt-emp (all the more) I-to
- cyaa-pa // 31. hottee-le kring-me-eno 'ee-ce
look at-pres (in this way)-advbl cry out-while-also you-Agt
- 'a-chor-pa 'pang-cim 'pang-pala-mi the-ce 'pang-ci nga-ce
Neg-hear-pres say-conj say-pt₂-emp he-Agt say-pt₁ I-Agt
- 'a-chor 'pang-pa // 32. hohl-la-cim 'pheeri-m 'nyiih-no
Neg-hear say-pres like that-do-conj again-emp we two-emp
- 'syng-'maah bah-cim me phut-cim 'Dahngtang 'Duhngtung
wood-pl bring-conj fire light-conj Dahngtang Duhngtung
- 'yungpa-ce 'pung-cim 'Ti-ci // 33. nahmsyo rahng syooh-ri
stone-Inst throw-conj sit-pt₁ tomorrow time morning-at
- apa 'kha-mam apa-ta 'tinyi muhna cen 'kha-ci
father come-while father-to today night leopard come-pt₁
- cen 'kha-cim long-na la-ci nga 'gohra-ri 'Ti-pa
leopard come-conj afraid-ger do-pt₁ I cowshed-at stay-pres
- 'a-'kham 'pang-cim 'pang-pala-mi apa-ce bhyuuh 'pang-pa
Neg-able say-conj say-pt₂-emp father-Agt lie say-pres
- cen 'a-'kha // 34. 'ee-ce bhyuuh 'pang-pala 'pang-pa //
leopard Neg-come you-Agt lie say-pt₂ say-pres
35. hohl-la-mam 'duhng-ki 'gahra-ri lapu 'jahng-pala
like that-do-while below-of field-at radish sow-pt₂
- mu-pala // 36. 'duhng-Ti cyaa-pala-m jyohi-'maah-Tim //
be-pt₂ below-at look at-pt₂-emp footprint-pl-fact
37. 'pheeri apa-ce jyohi-'maah cyaa-cim 'pang-pa
then father-Agt footprint-pl look at-conj say-pres
- rahng 'tinyi muhna-m cen 'kha-nem cen 'kha-nem-'te
like that today night-emp leopard come-pt₃ leopard come-pt₃-emp
- 'pang-cim 'pang-ci // 38. hohle 'pang-pa-saat-cemi
say-conj say-pt₁ like that say-pres-(s soqn-as)

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont d)

nga-ce 'pang-ci 'phee-i 'kha-sam nga 'bantuk-ce 'pung-pa
I-Agt say-pt₁ again come-cond I gun-Inst fire-pres

'pang-cim 'pang-pala-mi apa-ce 'pang-ci cen-ta 'bantuk-ce
say-conj say-pt₂-emp father-Agt say-pt₁ leopard-to gun-Inst

'pung-pa 'a-ta-pa 'pang-cim 'pang-ci // 39. 'pheeri-mi
fire at-pres Neg-be-pres say-conj say-pt₁ then-emp

apa-ce taa la-ci // 40. 'Tin bohkta 'giih bah-cim
father-Agt what do-pt₁ tin old one bring-conj

'gohra cyoo-ri 'cyo-then-ci 'gohra-ki cyoo-ri 'cyo-then-ci //
cowshed side-at hang-put-pt₁ cowshed-of side-at hang-put-pt₁

41. 'pheeri muhna hohle 'kha-ci 'pang-sam 'gohleele reeh-
again night like that come-pt₁ say-cond slowly rise up-

cim 'gohleele reeh-cim 'cu behrka-ce 'Tin-Ti bahng-ce
conj slowly rise up-conj this stick-Inst tin-on strength-Inst

'Duhngtung-bih rap-pim-pa teng cen long-pa-ce
Duhngtung-advbl beat-give-pres after leopard fear-pres-Inst

chyong-pa 'pang-cim hohle lop-pa //
run-pres say-conj like that teach-pres

Free Translation.

1. Some years ago, during my childhood, Syipatangpa and I were staying at the cattleshed in Bhorlo; this was about the time of Bhadra, Ashwin. 2. At evening time we two took turns to cook; having cooked food, we ate and smoked tobacco. 3. We talked, visited a neighbour, then at about nine or ten o'clock we went to bed. 4. Syipatangpa went to bed downstairs; I lay on top of my bed upstairs. 5. As soon as he lay down he went to sleep but I rested for a moment, became restless and couldn't sleep. 6. Once during the night I went out to urinate, it was raining lightly. 7. During the month of Bhadra the rain falls in a soft drizzle. 8. Having passed urine, I again lay down. 9. Syipatangpa didn't know I had been out. 10. Again I lay down with legs straight, but still wasn't able to sleep. 11. Down below, a cow snored again and again. 12. The goats also stamped their feet. 13. Again the cows snorted and again the goats stamped their feet. 14. When they did that, I looked at the cows and spoke to them. 15. After hearing my voice, they snorted more loudly. 16. While they were doing this I again looked at them, but looking the other way, the cows continued snorting and shaking their heads. 17.

The Leopard Comes to the Cattleshed (cont'd)

Looking down, I saw a leopard. 18. Getting up I cried out, but the leopard just looked at me. 19. The gleam of the leopard's eyes fixed upon me like the gleam of a torch. 20. I cried out. 21. The leopard, hearing my child's voice looked disagreeably at me. 22. At last it turned and went. 23. In the field below, radishes had been planted. 24. As soon as the leopard went, I woke Syipatangpa. 25. Syipatangpa having awoken, got up; then we brought wood, lit the fire, and sat down. 26. I said to Syipatangpa, "I cried out, didn't you hear?" 27. Syipatangpa said, "I didn't hear you." 28. (I told Syipatangpa) "A leopard came and was sitting at the side of the cowshed. 29. The cows were snorting, I looked and saw that a leopard had come. 30. I cried out, but the leopard looked at me all the more. 31. While crying out like this you didn't hear?" but he said "I didn't hear." 32. Again, having brought wood, having lit the fire, we threw stones and sat down. 33. The next morning my father came and I told him a leopard had come during the night and as I was afraid I couldn't stay at the cattleshed, but my father said I was lying. 34. "You're telling a lie", he said. 35. While that was happening, in the field below where the radishes had been planted, he saw the leopard's footprints. 36. Then he looked below and there were indeed footprints. 37. Then father, having looked at the footprints said, "last night a leopard certainly did come." 38. As soon as he said that I said, "If it comes again I will fire a gun," but father said, "You are forbidden to fire a gun at the leopard." 39. Then what did father do? 40. Having brought an old tin, he hung it at the side of the cattleshed. 41. He said, "If the leopard comes again, get up slowly and beat on the tin with this stick, the leopard will be frightened and run away," in this manner I learnt (what to do).

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FOOTNOTES.

¹This alternation between the goal marker and the genitive marker could be a focussing device, but so far this has not been determined.

²See Sentence patterns in Tamang, by Fay Everitt, in R. Trail, 1972, Patterns in clause, sentence, and discourse.

³Further investigation is needed concerning the occurrence of nominalised clauses as fillers of slots on the clause level. So far it cannot be determined when the nominal affixes -pa, -pala, or -syé occur in reference to 1) the doer of an action, 2) the undergoer, 3) the verbal idea, or 4) the doer and the verbal idea, but any one of the three nominalisers may be used to nominalise a clause filling the indirect object slot.

A Survey of Clause Patterns¹

Austin Hale and David Watters

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One of our goals in the work which led to the writing of this report was that of exploring the sememic structure of the clause in a variety of languages spoken in Nepal. We had originally hoped to publish each clause description in full but limitations of space have not allowed us to do this. We had also hoped to develop a more detailed heuristic strategy for clause analysis based upon our experience in a variety of languages but limitations of time have not permitted this. This introductory article consists of a brief heuristic sketch followed by a typological survey. For an introduction to the basic approach, see the introduction to Part I of this volume.

1. STRATEGY: A SEMEMIC APPROACH TO CLAUSE PATTERNS.

In field heuristic, the Tagmemically oriented linguist typically starts his analysis of clause structure with a preliminary identification of grammatical functions such as subject, object, indirect object, and predicate. This has proven useful in a wide variety of languages and this paper is not intended as a rejection of the subject-object approach to clause analysis. With Pike's development of the 9-box tagmeme, however, an alternative first step in field heuristic has become available. One may now begin his analysis of clause structure with the preliminary identification of sememic functions such as actor, undergoer, site and predicate. Our experience with these approaches would indicate that both the grammatical and the sememic functions are marked to some degree in surface structure, but that languages differ considerably from one another as to which of the two systems is more accessible in the early stages of clause analysis. In certain Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal we have found that the sememic functions were relatively more accessible for early analysis than were the grammatical. The purpose of this section is to share what we have found useful in approaching sememic structure at an early stage of the analysis.

The development which this paper sketches grew out of the conviction that the brunt of the burden of label making in Tagmemic descriptions of clause structure should not ultimately fall upon the field worker any more than it does in phonology. In phonology one is no longer required to invent labels for phonetic articulations. Once one has identified a sound, one is able to draw upon a ready inventory of labels which the etics of

phonology affords him. In phonology the invention of labels is not the major task in the early stages of the analysis that it generally still appears to be in a Tagmemic approach to grammatical and sememic structures. What seems to be lacking is an etics in which the possible range and types of elementary functions, classes and systems involved in description of grammatical and sememic structures at various levels are specified in advance for all natural languages. The major question behind this study is the question as to whether or not the construction of such a system can now be fruitfully attempted in terms of the 9-box tagmeme. Our answer thus far is a cautious yes. The results of this investigation constitute a tentative and embryonic contribution to a universal etics of one aspect of clause structure.

The construction of a universal etic of sememic and grammatical structures is no small task. We therefore attempted to find one part of the total task that could be developed far enough to illustrate what such an etic might look like. For this purpose we limited ourselves to the investigation of the sememic relationships between nouns and verbs, or between arguments and predicates within simple independent clauses. This relationship was given the label, sememic predicate function, and we set to work.

The question to which we first addressed ourselves was, 'What is the optimal minimum set of sememic relationships between nouns and verbs required for an etic classification of clause nuclei?' One obvious place to go for help in answering such a question was to the studies of case and role relations which have been so effectively exploited in the work of Fillmore, Anderson, and others. Although these materials proved very helpful as a starting point, the logic of the 9-box tagmeme soon forced us to posit basic relations somewhat different from those commonly known as roles or cases. The nuclear relationships we were interested in were viewed initially as those which strictly subcategorize verbs. To start with, then, the limits of the clause nucleus paralleled those of the proposition of case grammar in at least one important respect. It was soon obvious, however, that many of the things which might be said to subcategorize a verb were not relational, and that these non-relational subcategorizing features (such as animate and inanimate) would have to be factored out of sememic predicate function if our etic was to succeed. Consequently, our notion of strict subcategorization began to diverge from that of case grammar. Furthermore, we soon saw that not everything which is normally viewed as subcategorizing verbs in case grammar does so independently of other sub-

categorizing relations. Evidence of dependency among subcategorizing roles led us to group roles into role complexes. This had the effect of narrowing the range of sememic functions recognized as nuclear to the clause to just three: actor, undergoer, and site, in addition to that of sememic predicate.

Our initial question led simultaneously to another question: 'What etic classification of clause nuclei does the optimal set of sememic relations produce?' We started by constructing a tree in which there was a terminal branch for each of the possible combinations (subsets) of our three-role complexes. The answer to this came in the form of a classificatory tree of clause types similar to that represented in Figure 1.

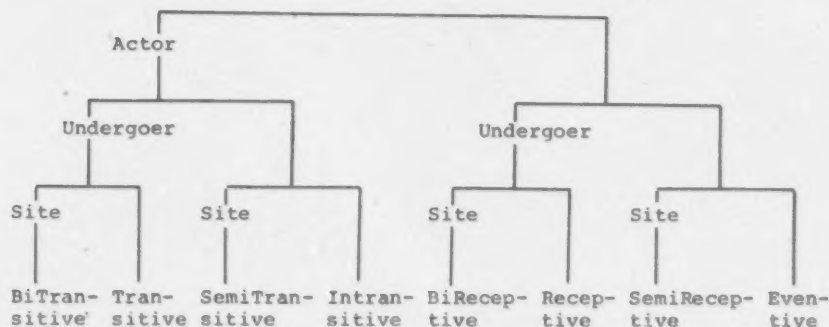


Figure 1. Basic etic classification of clause nuclei.

The labels at the ends of the branches are proposed as a universal inventory of etic clause types each of which occupies a distinctive position on a scale of transitivity which extends roughly from BiTransitive (highest degree of transitivity) to Eventive (lowest degree of transitivity). The tree in Figure 1 exhausts its conceptual universe by means of binary choices with respect to features which are symmetrical to the system and independent of one another. As a result, the tree in Figure 1 can be represented as a dimensional array or matrix as in Figure 2.

	Undergoer + and Site		Undergoer	Site
Actor	BT	T	ST	I
	BR	R	SR	E

Figure 2. Transitivity system as a dimensional array.

Each of these types can be tentatively illustrated in English.

BT	He gave me a book. A P S U	BR	The shoe fit me. U P S
T	He destroyed the book. A P U	R	He died. U P
ST	He went home. A P S	SR	It was hot in the room. P S
I	He wept. A P	E	It rained. P

Each of these etic types may eventually be developed to include a large number of etic sub-types. In addition, certain discourse motivated distinctions, such as the distinction between state and event, have proved useful in the description of clause derivations, and these have given rise to additional etic trees identical in form to that found in Figure 1.

This highly preliminary etics of clause types has served as a starting point in clause analysis. It is a relatively easy matter to find surface clauses corresponding to each of the eight types given in Figures 1 and 2. The analytic problem is to determine which of these types correspond to basic contrastive clause types in a given language. In approaching this analytic problem we have made use of a number of working hypotheses which we will now consider.

A. Working Hypotheses

Contrast and variation. A contrastive clause type is viewed as a paradigm of clauses linked by derivational rules. One mem-

ber of this paradigm is taken to be the basic member of the type. The other members of the paradigm are viewed as derived variants of the type. A given paradigm will have numerous examples. Within a given example of a paradigm, all variants will share the same verb. (Same is interpreted as including all members of suppletive verbs thus the verbal forms be, is, am, are, was, were could all occur in a single paradigm without violating the 'same verb' constraint.) A contrastive clause type is thus exemplified as a set of variant clauses which are related to one another by rule and which share the same verb. (At this point our notion of contrastive clause type may prove to be quite similar to Hiz's transformational battery.)

Contrast is defined primarily among the basic members of the respective types. The primary contrasts among major clause types are those involving actors, undergoers and sites. Secondary contrasts among major clause types involve other considerations, such as contrasts of derivational potential which may be seen by comparing the paradigms associated with the various major clause types.

Characteristics of the basic member of a clause type paradigm. If contrast among clause types is primarily to be defined in terms of the role structure of the basic members of the major contrastive clause types, the selection of the basic member of a paradigm becomes a rather pivotal analytic decision. What considerations enter into the selection of the basic member of a paradigm?

First of all, the basic member of a given paradigm is assumed to be rather directly represented by occurrent forms which are grammatical independent clauses. It is abstract to the extent that it may be defined as a point in a rule-defined paradigm. It is concrete to the extent that specific surface structure clauses will be referred to as direct representations of the basic form, or simply, as basic forms.

The basic form of a paradigm will have its full complement of nuclear roles, with a simple, unmarked verb.

1. John ate.
2. The porridge was all eaten.
3. John ate all the porridge.
4. John ate all the porridge from an old crock in the dining room.
5. Bill had John eat all his porridge for him from an old crock.

Example 1 entails at least that John ate something, and Example 2 entails at least that someone did the eating. That neither 1 nor 2 has its full complement of roles may be seen from Example 3. Example 3 has an actor, John, an undergoer, all the porridge, and thus may be classified as Transitive (T). In Example (4) we have two different kinds of locative specifications, one which may be interpreted either as a reduced relative clause modifying old crock or as a peripheral locative modifying the whole proposition, and another which functions as a site of source. The site, from an old crock relates specifically to the porridge as a moving object, and not to the whole predication. It strictly subcategorizes the verb since there are many verbs which do not accept sites of source. The verb eat in English differs from its translation equivalent in Newari since the verb nala 'ate' in Newari rejects site. Example 4 is interpreted as having an actor, John, an undergoer, porridge, and a site, from an old crock and is thus BiTransitive (BT). No special verbal marking has been introduced to support any of the three roles, thus, since (4) has a fuller complement of nuclear roles than any of the preceding examples it is considered more basic. In Example (2) the verb was not simple. It was a marked passive (was ... eaten). This marking allowed some role other than that of actor to be chosen as subject. Verbal markings of this sort constitute additional evidence that (2) is not the basic member of the paradigm. The verb in Example (5) is also marked. The marking (had ... eat) functions as a kind of causative benefactive construction which supports some additional roles. It supports the role of Bill as actor and the role of undergoer, on account of which John appears in double function. Example (5) clearly has a fuller complement of nuclear roles than (4). The fact that the verb had to be specially marked in order to allow (or support) the additional roles, however, rules (5) out as a candidate for the status of basic member of the paradigm. The markings indicate that these roles are not a part of the basic form, but are added by derivation. What constitutes marking may differ from language to language, but we have found that causatives, permissives, and benefactives involve verbal markings in the languages of Nepal, and that these markings support additional roles which are not allowed to occur with the basic form alone.

The basic form of a paradigm will manifest a minimum of skewing between focus and role. One of the characteristics of nuclear constituents of simple clauses is that a number of different pairings, between focus relations (subject, object, indirect object, locative referent) and role relations (actor, undergoer, site) may occur within the paradigm for a single major

type. In the languages studied thus far there appears to be a ranking of role relations which may be used to determine the normal pairing of focus and role for a given clause type. Clauses which have actors generally pair actors with subjects, undergoers with objects, and sites with indirect objects and bound locative referents. In many languages, clause types which lack actors will pair undergoers with subjects. Languages appear to differ as to whether sites pair with subjects. This ranking is observable even within a paradigm for a single type.

6. Bill read the book to John.

In Example (6) there is an actor, Bill, which is also subject. There is an undergoer, the book, which is also object. There is a site, to John, which is also indirect object. The verb is unmarked, making this a candidate example of normal pairing.

7. The book was read to John by Bill.
8. John was read to from the book by Bill.

Examples (7) and (8) show different pairings. In (7) the undergoer is subject and in (8) the site is subject. The passive marking on the verbs involved exclude these as candidate examples of normal pairings of focus and role. The pairings involved are derived pairings, and represent skewing of focus and role with respect to the normal pairing. For English we take it as a working hypothesis that in the basic form of simple clauses actors are normally subjects. It is quite possible that normal pairings for basic members may differ from language to language. Evidence for this would come from verbal markings and other derivational characteristics of clauses as defined by the total system for a given language.

Certain verbs in English appear to fit more than one basic patterns, in that they allow a variety of subject pairings with an unmarked verb.

9. John broke the bottle.
10. The bottle broke.
11. John read the book.
12. The book read well.

In Example (9) we have actor paired with subject, and in Example (10) we have the undergoer paired with subject. In both cases we have an unmarked verb. Both may be considered basic forms, (9) being Transitive and (10) being Receptive. If this phenom-

enon were sufficiently general we could incorporate (10) into the basic pattern of (9), but not on the basis of focus-role skewing. The basis in that case would simply be that (9) has a fuller complement of nuclear roles than does (10). In patterns which have undergoers but no actors, the subject-undergoer pairing is quite normal within the languages we have studied.

The basic form of a paradigm will conform to a general pattern of regular markings. As the analysis proceeds there will be systematic reasons for preferring one form as the basic member of a clause type paradigm over another form. The attempt to illustrate this working hypothesis may be more helpful if we indicate briefly some ways in which languages differ as to their basic marking systems.

Languages may eventually be classified into two groups on the basis of their surface structure marking systems: On the one hand there are languages whose surface markers are primarily grammatical. Such languages might be referred to as 'subject-object' languages. On the other hand there are languages whose surface markers are primarily sememic. Such languages might be referred to as 'actor-undergoer' languages. From this point of view English is likely to be a subject-object language and Newari is more likely to be an actor-undergoer language.

Consider first the English marker system. The surface markers of English include word order, case forms of personal pronouns, and person and number agreement with the verb. If we consider only the basic members of the various clause types, the subject appears in preverbal position, it governs the person and number form of the finite verb and if it is a personal pronoun it will be in what might be called the nominative form. The object appears in postverbal position and if it is a personal pronoun it will be in what might be called the objective or accusative form. Indirect objects or locative referents are generally marked by prepositions in the basic form, though there are exceptions to this in the receptive set of clause types. The basic form of subject and object marking is uniform throughout the set of clause types, and is clearly what is most immediately marked by the surface forms. The sememic relations of actor, undergoer and site are specifiable only indirectly in terms of these grammatical markings. This can be seen in terms of the following examples.

- BT 13. John gave a book to Bill.
- T 14. Bill used the book.
- ST 15. John went to market.

- I 16. He slept.
 BR 17. The shoe fit him.
 R 18. The milk turned sour.
 SR 19. It got hot in the room.
 E 20. It rained.

These examples are intended as examples of basic members of their respective clause types. In each example the first position is occupied by the subject. If there is an object it immediately follows the verb. Wherever a personal pronoun may be substituted for the subject it will be nominative in form (He gave a book to Bill, etc.). Subjects govern their verbs in person and number (He goes to market, but I go to market, etc.). Within certain clause types there now appear to be subtypes which differ from one another in their basic pairings of subject, object, and referent with actor, undergoer, and site. In these cases the pairing which is normal appears to be controlled by the verb. Within the BiReceptive pattern, for example, we have at least two kinds of subject pairings.

- BR 21. The man received the prize.
 He broke his collar bone.
 22. The roof blew off the house.
 The book got into the wrong stack.

In (21) the subject is site. In (22) the subject is undergoer.

Examples (19) and (20) suggest another observation. English requires that the subject of a sentence be nominative in form. A SemiReceptive clause has only one nuclear sememic role, that of site. An inanimate site in English is normally marked with a preposition, in contrast to the nominative form which is normal for subjects. Sites marked with prepositions cannot be subjects, yet English requires that a sentence have a subject. To satisfy this requirement, it is inserted in (19). Similarly an Eventive clause has no nuclear roles associated with it. Yet English requires of all independent clauses that they have a subject in first position governing the verb. Thus the it in (20) has a grammatical function but no sememic function. It cannot be replaced by a noun or personal pronoun.

The surface markers which appear in Examples (13) through (20) are largely invariant throughout all sememic types. The subject marking (first position, nominative form, concord with the verb) is the same regardless of the sememic role that it

plays. In the transitive set (13) through (16), the subject is the actor. In (17) and (18), the subject is the undergoer. In (19) and (20) the subject plays no sememic role whatever. Similarly, the object marking is invariant throughout the examples regardless of sememic function. Object marking in basic form involves postverbal position and accusative form for personal pronouns. In (13) and (14), the object has the sememic function of undergoer, but in (17) it has the function of site.

English thus differs from languages such as Newari in that in English the surface markings of the basic members of a clause type paradigm correlate with subjects and objects, whereas in Newari they tend to correlate more directly with actors, undergoers and sites. Consider the following examples.

- BT 23. Waa jitaā saphuu bila
 S IO O P
 Act Sit Und P
 He to me book gave
 He gave a book to me.
- T 24. Waa lāsā dāla
 S O P
 Act Und P
 He mattress beat
 He beat the mattress.
- ST 25. Wa chee
 S R P
 Act Sit P
 He at home stayed
 He stayed at home.
- I 26. Wa dana
 S P
 Act P
 He got up
 He got up.
- BR 27. Jitaā wa lākāā jila
 IO Obj P
 Sit Und P
 to me those shoes fit
 Those shoes came to fit me.

- R 28. Wa khwāē jula
 Obj P
 Und P
 He deaf became
 He became deaf.
- SR 29. Wayā tyānhula
 Obj P
 Sit P
 He became tired.
 He became tired.

Newari lacks an Eventive clause type.

In contrasting Newari with English it should first be noted that Newari clauses do not appear to require the presence of a subject. Examples (25) through (27) appear to be subjectless, containing no noun phrase which controls or has concord with the verb. Certain derivations which are quite natural in Newari but are impossible in English also serve nicely to illustrate this difference. In (30) the subject has been deleted from a BiTransitive clause and has not been replaced.

30. Jitaa saphuu bila
 to me book gave
 I was given a book/A book was given to me.

The English equivalents require that the deleted subject be replaced in some way and for this purpose the English passive is a most convenient device. While Newari has no such passive marking, English has no clause such as (31).

31. *Gave me a book.

In Newari simple clauses the verb is governed by an actor. If no actor is present, the verb is impersonal. If verbal concord marks the subject in Newari, only actors are subjects. The function of subject is either much less central in Newari grammar than in English grammar or else its markings are far more elusive. Sememic roles, however, are consistently marked in Newari, though the marking of a given role depends upon the clause type in which it occurs. Actors are agent-marked in patterns which have undergoers; otherwise actors are unmarked. Animate undergoers in clause patterns which have actors have goal-marked forms generally for pronouns except when the site is goal-

marked. Inanimate undergoers are typically unmarked as are undergoers in general in clause types which do not have actors. There are six basic sememic types of site which fall into four marked groups as shown in Figure 3.

	Source	Location	Goal
Animate	yake		yata / ya
Inanimate	naa		-e / -i

Figure 3. Basic site markers in Newari.

B. Heuristic Strategy

This section represents a very tentative, rudimentary outline of one strategy of research which promises to be helpful in the study of clause patterns from this point of view.

Tentative chart of basic patterns. Start work by gathering simple basic clauses, attempting in every case to work from the forms found in text or in the corpus to the basic member of the clause type paradigm. The derived forms from which one worked back to the basic member should be preserved as well, since this will be of use later in work on derivations. The basic members should be placed on a chart similar to that of Figure 1 or Figure 2. In the work leading to this report, a fuller chart consisting of sixteen cells was used, in which we distinguished between inherently stative and inherently eventive clause types. Such a chart may be seen in Section I of C. Bandhu's paper, Clause patterns in Nepali elsewhere in this part. In practice, each cell of the chart was a separate sheet or series of sheets.

Sorting of candidate basic members according to the tentative chart of basic patterns was done on the basis of a semantic feel for the notions, actor, undergoer, and site on the one hand and according to the formal markers that accompany these sememic functions, whether on nouns or on verbs, on the other.

Role marker chart. Taking the tentative chart of basic patterns, one next attempts to determine the logic underlying the role marker system. In doing this, one attempts to answer two

sets of questions.

a) Within each cell on the chart, how are the roles distinguished from each other according to their markers? What set of markers marks actors? What set of markers marks undergoers? What set of markers marks sites? Is there an overlap of markers between any two roles? Does this overlap result in ambiguity, or can it be resolved in terms of other, cooccurrent markers? If the latter, what rules can be used in approaching each cell on the chart to determine the roles given the markers? Given the roles, what rules do I need to determine the correct markers?

b) Between each pair of cells on the chart, to what extent can one predict the appropriate cell, given the markers? In which pairs of cells does one find clauses with identical role markings? What evidence is there for contrast between the cells in these cases?

Focus marker chart. The examples entered in the role marker chart are now transferred to a chart in which the rows and columns are labeled with grammatical function labels rather than with sememic function labels. (Again, in actual practice, each cell would probably be a separate sheet.) The following would be a possible focus marker chart.

	Object Site	Object	Site
Subject			

Figure 4. Focus marker chart.

Repeat the two sets of questions suggested for role markers, but ask them with reference to focus markers.

Search for candidate derivations. The evidence for contrast among basic clause patterns has by now gone through three passes. The first one was a strictly impressionistic pass based upon a feel for the notions, actor, undergoer, and site. The second pass resulted in the re-assignment of clauses to types where necessary to make sense of the role marker system. The third

pass reclassified all the clauses in terms of their grammatical function markings. The evidence for contrast will not be complete, however, until derivational evidence has been adequately accounted for. The derived forms associated with the basic members within any given cell can be used to construct a derivational paradigm for the clause type. The range of derivations given in the various clause papers in this volume may be taken as suggestive of what might be looked for in the derivational system of a language. Certain derivations may apply to certain inherent types and not to others, or they may apply in one way to one set of types and in another way to another set. This kind of difference among sets of clause types counts as evidence for the contrastive status of the respective clause types.

Study each derivation which provides a relatively general way of moving clauses from one cell of the transitivity system to another by examining all the different instances in which it applies. Formulate a rule to cover it which includes a statement of the range of structures to which it may apply, the structural changes that it effects, and the transitivity type to which the resultant derived clause belongs as a derived type. Once the rules have been formulated, a derivational matrix such as that given in Figure 19 of C. Bandhu, *Clause patterns in Nepali* can be constructed. Such a matrix needs to be checked out for all types and for any number of possible cyclical applications of the derivational rules. Constraints upon the application of rules may be built into the rules themselves where this is not dependent upon information about the derivational history. Constraints which are conditioned upon the derivational history of a clause are best represented in terms of a chart similar to that given in Figure 20 of C. Bandhu, *Clause patterns in Nepali*.

Finalize the choice of basic contrastive types and tabulate contrasts. For a tabulation of contrasts which are commonly encountered in the languages of this report see Section II.E. below. For a tabulation for a single language see Watters, *Clause patterns in Kham* in Part I of this report.

II. TYPOLGY: A BRIEF SURVEY OF CLAUSE PATTERNS.

This discussion of clause typology is restricted mainly to three areas of clause structure: the marking of sememic function (role markers), the marking of grammatical function (focus markers), and derivational markings. It ends with a listing of

recurrent contrasts among clause types found in languages of the area.

A. Actor-Undergoer Languages and Subject-Object Languages.

It is a standard tagmemic assumption that all languages are to be described both in terms of grammatical functions such as subject and object and in terms of sememic functions such as actor and undergoer.² It does not seem to be the case, however, that all languages make equal use of grammatical function and sememic function in the organization of their surface forms. Indeed, languages appear to differ greatly from one another as to whether their surface structures are more easily approached in terms of sememic function or grammatical function, or both. At one extreme we may distinguish a set of languages which we will refer to as subject-object languages from languages at another extreme which we will refer to as actor-undergoer languages.³ For some languages the notion of subject will be an important one for the description of surface structures and for other languages it will not be so important. We will be suggesting that these two sets of languages make use of different sets of primary relations in the organization of their surface structures. In mapping deep structure onto surface structure in English one will wish to make use of the notion of subject at least in surface structure. In Newari, however, the notion of subject is not very useful and may well be replaced by the notion of actor. Since much of what we will have to say in this section revolves around the differences between subject-object languages and actor-undergoer languages, it may be appropriate to contrast the notion of subject in English (a subject-object language) with the notion of subject in Newari (an actor-undergoer language).

English. One might ask the question, 'How can one identify the surface subject of a sentence in English without formal reference to deep structure?' In answering such a question one might propose a number of tests for subject-hood. Indeed, for a subject-object language a large number of different tests can usually be devised, whereas this may not be possible for an actor-undergoer language.

In a simple basic clause of English the subject precedes the verb, is nominative in form and participates in an agreement pattern of person and number with the verb. Thus we have sentences such as

- 32. He is buying her a wig.
- 33. You are buying her a wig.
- 34. I am buying her a wig.

in which the subjects, he, you, and I, are nominative, precede the verb, and agree with their respective verbs in person and number. If these three surface characteristics (case form, word order, and agreement) are taken as tests of subject-hood in English, it should be noted that the tests apply correctly only as a given sentence is related to a paradigm of forms. To show agreement, one must change the subject for person or number or both (and possibly the tense of the verb as well) in order to determine whether a change in a noun governs a concomitant change in the verb. In order to show number agreement, the paradigm above must be augmented at least with the following.

- 35. They are buying her a wig.

To test for case form, one must be able to relate a given form, I, to a paradigm which includes a contrasting form, me. The test which looks at the preverbal position of the subject would not at first glance appear to require reference to a paradigm, but the fact is that subjects do not always occur in preverbal position. Subjects in English occur before the verb only at certain points within the paradigm. In (36) the subject occurs between two

- 36. Has he caught her a wig?

elements of the verb phrase. The position test is helpful in identifying the surface subject of (36) only if it is phrased so as to take advantage of the relationship between the position of a subject within a sentence and the position of a sentence within its paradigm. A subject in English can be identified by observing what happens to it as one moves from point to point within a paradigm. By observing what happens, a large number of correlations involving surface subjects in English can be noted and such correlations can be rephrased as tests for subject-hood in English. That this is true is evidence that subject is a relationship which is highly relevant for the surface organization of English sentences.

Halliday has suggested (1967:213) that one of the primary functions of the subject in English is that of signalling mood. In imperative sentences the subject may be deleted.

- 37. Buy her a wig!

In yes-no questions and in content questions in which the question word is not the subject there is an inversion of the tense element relative to the position of the subject.

38. Did he buy her a wig?

39. What did he buy her?

The deletion of subject in (37) helps to signal imperative mood. The inversions in (38) and (39) help to signal interrogative mood. Where the subject is a question word it receives special treatment. Inversion either does not occur or is undone in some way.

40. Who bought her a wig?

In nominalizations such as (41) and (42) the subject also receives special treatment.

41. For him to buy her a wig...

42. His buying her a wig...

The subject of the corresponding simple sentence,

43. He bought her a wig.

becomes a *for*-phrase in (41) and a possessive in (42). As one continues to observe what happens to a subject as one moves through such a paradigm in English one becomes aware of the fact that there is a very large set of characteristics associated with the notion of surface subject in English. To describe the notion 'subject in English' one can make use of a large portion of the grammar of English.⁴ Viewed in the perspective of the total paradigm, subjects in English are undoubtedly unique (i.e. they differ from objects, indirect objects, predicates and all other grammatical functions) with respect to word order possibilities, agreement constraints, and the like.⁵

Newari. The notion of subject in Newari is a very elusive one. It is not only difficult to identify surface subjects in a variety of clause types, but it is doubtful if subject is required at all in an adequate account of the organization of the surface structure of Newari sentences. In Newari the verb agrees to a limited extent with its actor. Typically, in independent declarative sentences the conjunct form of the verb indicates that the actor and the speaker are the same. In independent interrogative sentences the conjunct form indicates that the actor

and the hearer are the same. Otherwise the disjunct form is used.

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 44. Ji wa-yā. | I came. (-yā is conjunct) |
| 45. Cha wa-la. | You came. (-la is disjunct) |
| 46. Wa wa-la. | He came. |
| 47. Cha wa-yā lā? | Did you come? |

Where there is no actor there is no agreement and only the disjunct form of the finite verb occurs.

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 48. Ji taa cā-la. | I became angry. (-la is disjunct) |
| 49. Ji nhāpā lā-ta. | I happened to be (there) first.
(-ta is disjunct) |
| 50. Ji bepārae dyā-ta. | I suffered loss in business. |

If the subject is to be thought of as that noun phrase which in some way controls the inflectional form of the verb, then only sentences with actors will have subjects and the definition of subject will be that of actor as well.

The subject in English, as has been pointed out above, has an important function with respect to the mood system. It is involved in the inversion of the tense element in questions and in the special deletions allowed in imperatives. Again, mood involvement appears to be limited to the actor in Newari. The rules for the assignment of conjunct and disjunct forms depends upon mood, as has been illustrated above. Otherwise, both alternative questions and content questions are adequately marked by question words without any subject related inversions or special deletion possibilities.

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 51. Su wa-la? | Who came? (su is the content question word, 'who') |
| 52. Wa wa-la lā? | Did he come? (lā is the alternative question word) |

With regard to the imperative, the actor is limited to second person and is optionally deletable as in English, but in Newari the deletion of actors is possible in general regardless of mood.

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 53. Wa thana wa-la. | He came here. |
| 54. Thana wa-la. | (Someone) came here. |
| 55. Cha thana wā! | You come here! |
| 56. Thana wā! | Come here! |

Mood in Newari appears to be of little help in distinguishing subjects from actors. If we say that subjects and actors are defined in the same way for Newari then there will be subjectless verbs (hence subjectless sentences) since not all verbs take actors. If we accept this, then Newari is not a subject-object language in the sense that English is, since for English one can argue quite convincingly that all sentences (in the normal sense of sentence) have subjects.

The identification of the actor as subject in Newari has in its favor two things: 1) the actor alone governs the inflection of the finite verb and 2) the actor is marginally involved in the Newari mood system. A third point in its favor should also be mentioned: the actor is the unmarked theme of a clause. When present, the actor stands first among the nuclear constituents of the clause. However, if the notion subject in Newari really does amount simply to that of actor and nothing more, the notion of subject probably isn't needed at all. The functions which a subject performs in English are simply performed by a variety of things in Newari, and most of these things would not be things we would call a subject in any language.

In attempting to provide some kind of independent status for the notion of subject in Newari, one might choose to pursue some other characterization of subject. Two possibilities suggest themselves: 1) subject is the unmarked theme, or 2) subject is the nominative noun phrase (i.e. the one lacking a morphological case affix or postposition) associated with the verb. Each of these two approaches is incompatible with the view that subject is actor and nothing more. Each is also incompatible with the other. Under either of the two latter views, a relatively large proportion of verbs in Newari can be viewed as having subjects. Either of these definitions can be made to work within a framework which requires that there be a subject, and that for most clauses there be an answer to the question 'What is the subject of this clause?' What we lack at present is any kind of independent motivation for adopting either of these two views. It is not yet clear that there is any particular reason why the notion subject as defined along either of these two lines is needed in a description of Newari. Referring to subject defined in either of these two ways might never simplify a rule or allow us to capture a generalization which would otherwise be lost. Further research may provide motivation for the notion of subject in Newari. So far we seem to be able to do quite well without it. For reasons such as these we view English as a subject-object language and Newari as an actor-undergoer language.

B. Sememic Function Markers.

Just as languages differ in the extent to which their surface structures are organized in terms of grammatical functions such as subject and object, so languages also differ in the extent to which their surface structures are organized in terms of sememic functions such as actor and undergoer. In languages such as Newari and Kham the surface markings of sememic functions are easily accessible to beginning analysis. This is implied in our classification of Kham and Newari as actor-undergoer languages. In languages such as Kham and English, the surface markings of grammatical functions are easily accessible to beginning analysis, which is implied in our classification of Kham and English as subject-object languages. Thus Kham differs both from English and from Newari in that in Kham both sets of markers are easily accessible to beginning analysis.

Since all the languages of this report have at least some surface markings of actors, undergoers and sites, we have undertaken to make a preliminary study of role markers. We have found that the way in which a given role is marked often differs from cell to cell of the transitivity matrix. For example, the actor of an Intransitive clause will in general be marked differently from the actor of a Transitive clause, and the undergoer of a Transitive clause will in general be marked differently from the undergoer of a Receptive clause.⁶ As it often turns out, the actor marker not only marks a given noun phrase as the actor, but it also signals the presence of an undergoer elsewhere in the pattern.

One of the most surprising results of the preliminary study was the close similarity of distribution and function of the role markers across the languages investigated, in spite of the fact that the phonological shapes of the markers involved were quite diverse. The syntactic similarities led to an impression of relatedness that the phonological forms themselves would not have suggested.

1. Actor Markers.

Three basic patterns for the actor marker have emerged. In one pattern, Transitive and BiTransitive actors are marked by an agentive suffix, whereas the Intransitive and SemiTransitive actors are unmarked. The agentive suffix marks the underlying pattern, not just the surface variant. Actors are agent marked in the BiTransitive and Transitive patterns even when the under-

goer is omitted. This pattern applies to all persons and all tenses.

BT Agt	T Agt	ST Umk	I Umk
BR ---	R ---	SR ---	E ---

Figure 5. Actor markers, pattern 1. Applies to all person, all tenses. The pattern includes two languages: Chepang (which has the agent marker *-?i*) and Newari (which has the agent marker *-naa* in alternation with a lengthened, nasalized version of the stem final vowel, *-aa*, *-ii*, *-aa*, etc.).

Pattern 1 can be illustrated for Chepang as follows.⁷

BT ?ow?may?-?i paanday-kaay hlaa-naa-n-i waa?
 they-Agt shaman-Gol handed bird
 They handed the shaman a bird.

T paanday-?i waa? saat-na-w
 shaman-Agt bird killed
 The shaman killed the bird.

ST ngaa glanh-taang lanh-naa-ng
 I tree-Loc climbed
 I climbed the tree.

I ?aamaa-?aapaa ryaa?-naa-ca
 parents cried
 The parents cried.

Examples (23) through (26) in Section I of this paper illustrate this pattern for Newari.

A second pattern which is quite similar to the first in its distribution of agent markers across clause types differs from the first in that the agentive suffix occurs only in certain tenses, or only in certain persons, or only in certain combina-

tions of person and tense.

BT	Agt Umk	T	Agt Umk	ST	Umk	I	Umk
BR	---	R	---	SR	---	E	---

Figure 6 Actor markers, pattern 2. The actor markings in BT and T types occur only with certain tenses, certain persons, or with certain combinations of tense and person.

Pattern 2 has three subtypes which are distinguished from one another according to the factors that determine the choice of actor markers in the BT and T patterns. Type A is tense sensitive and includes Magar and Nepali. In Nepali (which has the agent marker, -le,) the actor is optionally marked in the non-past tenses. Thus, while we get⁸

BT mxi-le hxri-lai kitap di-e'
I-Agt Hari-Gol book gave
I gave Hari a book.

we also get

BS mx hxri-lai kitap diu'-la
I Hari-Gol book will give
I will give Hari a book.

In Magar (which has the agent marker, -i,) the actor is unmarked in future tense. With the past tense verb form the agent marker is often optional, but when omitted, a different aspect is involved.⁹

T ase-i cyt-ke sat-a
he-Agt dog-Gol killed
He killed a dog.

S ase cyu-ke sat-a
he dog-Gol killed
He killed dogs (near past, repeated action).

Type B is person sensitive and is represented by Kham and Sunwar. In Kham (which has the agent marker, -e,) only third person actors are agent marked. First and second person actors are unmarked.¹⁰

T no-e no-lay pol-ke-o
he-Agt he-Gol hit
He hit him.

T nga: no-lay ngz-poh-ke
I he-Gol hit
I hit him.

In Sunwar (which has the agent marker, -m), first and second person singular actors are unmarked. Singular actors of the third person and dual and plural actors of all persons are agent-marked.¹¹

T go mere-kali 'tup-ta
I there-Gol beat
I hit him (the one who was there).

T go-puki-m mere-kali 'tup-taka
I-pl-Agt there-Gol beat
We beat him (the one who was there).

Type C is sensitive both to tense and to person. In Jirel and Sherpa, actors associated with verbs which are future in tense and conjunct in person are unmarked. Actors in these two languages are otherwise generally agent marked. (Conjunct person is generally associated with first person in independent declarative clauses but with second person in independent interrogative clauses.) The following clauses illustrate this pattern for Sherpa.¹²

T nye do tekin
I (Agt) stone lifted (past conjunct)
I lifted a stone.

T 'ti-ki do teksung
he-Agt stone lifted (past disjunct)
He lifted a stone.

T khyor-e do teksung
you-Agt stone lifted (past disjunct)
You lifted a stone.

- S nga do dekin
I stone will lift (future conjunct)
I will lift a stone.
- S khyor-e do dekiwi
you-Agt stone will lift (future disjunct)
You will lift a stone.
- S 'ti-ki do dekiwi
he-Agt stone will lift (future disjunct)
He will lift a stone.

For inherent stative verbs in Sherpa the system manifests a peculiar inflectional flip. The actor keeps its agent marking but the verb is disjunct in form.

- S nye 'khyore min jekiwi
I(Agt) your name forget (future disjunct)
I'll forget your name.

The pattern in Jirel is similar as is illustrated by the following.¹³

- T nye 'the-la 'du-bap
I (Agt) he-Gol hit
I hit him.
- S 'nga 'the-la 'dung-go
I he-Gol hit
I will hit him.
- S khu-iq 'the-la 'dung-go
you-Agt he-Gol hit
You will hit him.
- S 'the-ki 'the-la 'dung-go
he-Agt he-Gol hit
He will hit him.

A third pattern exists which differs from the first two in having agent marked actors for I and ST patterns as well as for T and BT patterns under certain circumstances.

BT	Agt Umk	T	Agt Umk	ST	Agt Umk	I	Agt Umk
BR	---	R	---	SR	---	E	---

Figure 7. Actor markers, pattern 3. The permitted actor markings for a given clause type is determined by the tense of the verb.

Pattern 3 applies to Tamang, which has the agent marker, *-ce*. In non-event tenses an actor may either be agent marked or unmarked, the decision as to whether or not to mark the actor being, apparently, a choice determined by discourse considerations. In the event tenses, actors in the patterns, BT, T, and ST, are obligatorily agent-marked and actors in the I pattern are optionally agent-marked.¹⁴

ST the(-ce) namsa-ri nyi-ci
he(Agt) village-Gol went
He went to the village.

BT the-ce hucu kola bacaar-Ti pit-ci
he-Agt this child market-Gol sent
He sent the child to market.

2. Undergoer and Goal-Site Markers.

For the languages of this report it is generally the case that undergoer markers also function as goal-site markers, though a given clause will generally have only one such marker.¹⁵ Thus, in BiTransitive clauses the site may be goal-marked and the undergoer unmarked, or the site may be locative marked and the undergoer goal-marked but site and undergoer in general cannot both be goal marked.

Three basic patterns of goal marking have emerged. In one pattern, represented by Chepang, either the site or the undergoer of any BiTransitive clause may be goal-marked. Thus, with the verb 'give' we may have either

BT ?ow?-?i ?ow?ko?co?-kaay? baahman-ka?taang bay??aakaan
 he-Agt child-Gol Brahman-Loc gave
 He gave his child to the Brahman.

or we may have

BT ?ow?-?i ?ow?ko?co? baahman-kaay? bay??aakaan
 he-Agt child Brahman-Gol gave
 He gave his child to the Brahman.

Similarly, with the verb 'send' we may have either

BT ?ow?-?i ?ow?ko?co? baahman-kaay? hlok?aakaan
 he-Agt child Brahman-Gol sent
 He sent his child to the Brahman.

or we may have

BT ?ow?-?i ?ow?ko?co?-kaay? baahman-ka?taang hlok?aakaan
 he-Agt child-Gol Brahman-Loc sent
 He sent his child to the Brahman.

In Chepang the position of the goal marker is not uniquely determined by the verb. One may choose to assign the goal marker to the undergoer or to the site. This choice is a meaningful one in terms of discourse related considerations.

The second major pattern is represented by Kham, Jirel, and Newari in which two classes of BiTransitive verbs may be distinguished. One class consists of verbs like 'give' for which the site must be goal-marked. The other consists of verbs like 'send' for which the undergoer is optionally goal-marked and the site is locative. In these languages the choice of verb determines the position of the goal marker. Thus in Kham we have clauses such as

BT no-e nga-lay o-za: pxrin,-na-ke-o
 he-Agt I-Gol his-son send-lsU-pst-3sA

in which the choice of the verb 'send' dictates that the goal marker, if present, occur on the undergoer. This restriction rules out the possibility of interpreting this clause to mean 'He sent his son to me' and allows only the interpretation 'He sent me as his son.'

A third pattern, represented by Sunwar, may be viewed as something of an intermediate type between Chepang and Kham. With one class of verbs in Sunwar there is a systematic ambiguity between change of location and transfer of property. This ambiguity is resolved by the use of goal markers and locative markers. The verb 'send' in the sense of change of location has a locative-marked site and a goal-marked undergoer.

BT meko-m al-kali brahman-atsewam soyktaawa
 he-Agt child-Gol Brahman-Loc sent
 He sent the child to the Brahman.

In the sense of 'transfer of property' the verb 'send' has an unmarked undergoer and a goal-marked site.

BT meko-m al brahman-kali soyktaawa
 he-Agt Child Brahman-Gol sent
 He sent the child to the Brahman (to be married off).

Thus far we have been concerned with the placement of the goal marker within a given clause. We have attempted to indicate the major conditions which determine whether the goal marker occurs on the undergoer or on the site. We concern ourselves now with a further complication of goal marking in the undergoer. When a goal marker is assigned to the site, the goal marker always occurs. When conditions are such as to allow the goal marker to occur on the undergoer, however, the goal marker does not always occur. In the languages of this report the site is hardly ever unmarked. If it is not goal-marked it will be locative-marked. The undergoer, however, may be either goal marked or unmarked. Our problem is to determine the conditions under which the undergoer will be goal marked and how they differ from conditions which call for an unmarked undergoer.

In certain languages a goal marker identifies a given undergoer as a member of the primary cast of participants. In other languages it appears to indicate unexpectedness in the relationship between the predicate and its undergoer. Where goal marking is used to identify the primary cast of participants, it is not at all unusual that the primary cast changes in the course of a narrative. One primary participant may lose goal marking in favor of another participant. Goal marking may be viewed as a kind of focus on participants.

In all of the languages studied, pronominal undergoers and undergoers which are proper nouns are nearly always goal marked

(though there are some idioms in Newari which form exceptions to this statement). This tendency may be related to the tendency to limit the use of pronouns and proper nouns to primary participants.

In languages such as Chepang in which there is a certain freedom in the placement of the goal marker, the placement of the goal marker may be a device for focussing upon a primary participant. In languages such as Jirel, Kham, and Sunwar in which the choice of a verb may determine the placement of the goal marker, there are often alternative verbs which allow alternative placement of the goal marker, and thus focus upon a primary participant can be achieved by the choice of a verb which allows focus upon the desired role.

3. Locative Site Markers.

There is a curious, possibly coincidental relationship between the classification of a given language as a subject-object language or an actor-undergoer language on the one hand, and the relationships expressed in the suffixes which serve as locative site markers in that language on the other. This relationship is most clearly seen by contrasting Kham (a subject-object language) with Jirel (an actor-undergoer language). Affixal locative site markers in Kham specify a location relative to the affixed noun, much in the manner of English prepositions. The following is a sample.

nga jyahn.- <u>da</u>	nga-bake	I went <u>to</u> the forest.
I forest-to	I-went	
nga jyahn.- <u>lx</u>	nga-bake	I went <u>into</u> the forest.
nga jyahn.- <u>ngx</u>	nga-bake	I went <u>around in</u> the forest.
nga jyahn.- <u>kin</u>	nga-bake	I went <u>away from</u> the forest.

In Jirel, on the other hand, the affixal locative site markers specify a location relative to the speaker. At least five different specifications are possible. We illustrate three.

'the 'goTe- <u>ma</u>	gal-sung	He went to the shed down below.
he shed-below	went	
'the 'goTe- <u>ne</u>	gal-sung	He went to the shed up above.
'the 'goTe- <u>pa</u>	gal-sung	He went to the shed across (from the speaker).

That the actor went to the shed in these examples from Jirel is understood as part of the meaning of the verb.

Magar, Sherpa, and Tamang (actor-undergoer languages) all tend toward the Jirel type of suffix marking in which the concepts of motion to and from as opposed to location in a place are understood as part of the meaning of the verb. This situation, involving a rather tight sememic bond between verb and site is quite a natural characteristic of actor-undergoer languages. Nepali and Sunwar (subject-object languages) tend toward the Kham type of marking. The bond between verb and locative site tends to be much looser in subject-object languages. A greater range of different sites can be specified for any given verb, since the site relation is not itself a part of the meaning of the verb.

Chepeng appears to be a borderline case. At one stage in its history, Chepeng may have been quite similar to present-day Sunwar in terms of subject marking. In its present stage of development, however, it is not always possible to determine the subject of a Chepeng clause. The language, then, is not clearly a subject-object language. It is interesting to note in this connection that the locative markers in Chepeng also fail to pattern clearly with either group, but straddle the borderline between the two groups. Usually -taang in Chepeng marks motion to and -haang marks location at. In this respect Chepeng patterns like a subject-object language. There are some cases, however, in which -taang refers to general location, and the two markers are somewhat interchangeable. In this respect Chepeng tends to pattern like an actor-undergoer language.

4. Experiencers.

Another interesting difference among languages which appears to correlate (perhaps coincidentally) with the subject-object language actor-undergoer language distinction involves the surface classification of underlying experiencers. Propositions such as 'I am hungry', 'I itch', 'I am cold,' and the like are expressed quite differently in actor-undergoer languages from the way they are expressed in subject-object languages. Actor-undergoer languages tend to make use of SemiAttributive or SemiReceptive clause types in which the experiencer is marked as a site (as a goal-site in Jirel, Magar, Sherpa, and as a goal site or genitive site in Newari).

Thus in Sherpa we have

'tiki dzu-laa phenowq
his body-Gol itched
His body itched.

nga-laa lhwoq laasung
I-Gol hunger felt
I felt hungry.

nga-laa Tengge phoksung
I-Gol cold felt
I felt cold.

in Jirel we have

nga-la' twa'laq lasung
I-Gol hunger felt
I felt hungry.

in Magar we have

Mxylha-ke jung-ha
Mailha-Gol cold
Mailha felt cold.

in Newari we have either

wa-yāta tyānhula
he-Gol became tired
He became tired.

or we may have

wa-yā tyānhula
he-Gen became tired
As for him, he became tired.

Subject-object languages, on the other hand mark the experiencer as an undergoer in an Attributive or Receptive clause type. Thus in Kham we have

nga: ngazyuhñ.zya
I cold
I am cold.

Interestingly, Nepali, which is basically a subject-object language, has both patterns at this point.

mxlai bhok lag-io
I-Gol hunger struck
I became hungry.

tio bhoka-io
he became hungry
He became hungry.

This is consistent with the fact that Nepali has personal and impersonal forms for many of its constructions. The verb is never marked for subject agreement in impersonal constructions. In Nepali 'to me hunger struck' may be viewed as an impersonal form of 'I became hungry,' for only the latter form has subject agreement patterns in the verb. In personal forms, Nepali patterns as a subject-object language, and in impersonal forms it patterns as an actor-undergoer language.

Tamang, which we have viewed as an actor-undergoer language, appears to have the subject-object pattern at this point.

the 'khang-pa
he is cold
He is cold.

Experiencer marking patterns are seen not only in SemiAttributive and Attributive clause types. In Newari, for example, given the clause

Waa ji-taa khicā kena
He(Agt) I-Gol dog showed
He showed the dog to me.

one may substitute a genitive site marker for the agent marker on the actor. The result is the following

Wa-vā ji-taa khicā kena
He Gen I-Gol dog showed
He had the pleasure of showing the dog to me.

In Kham, a subject-object language, an experiencer is marked as a subject in the stative set as well as in the attributive set, as may be seen from clauses such as the following.

nga: bukhi-da ba ba nga-ngxmsi-zya
 I(Subj) (-complement ---) I-enjoy-state tense
 I enjoy going to the high pasture.

In Nepali the concept 'to enjoy' can be expressed either in a personal construction with the experiencer as subject

mx' tia' janx mxn pxrau'-chu
 I(subj) there going enjoyment falls (first person form)
 I enjoy going there.

or in an impersonal construction with the experiencer as site.

mx'-lai tia' janx mxn pxr-chx
 I-Gol there going enjoyment falls (impersonal form)
 I enjoy going there.

It appears, then, that in actor-undergoer languages the primary consideration in the surface classification of underlying experiencers is that they pattern semantically as goals, whereas in subject-object languages the primary consideration is that they pattern grammatically as subjects.

C. Role Marking on Verbs.

All of the languages included in this report except Magar and Tamang have markers on the verb which identify actors and/or undergoers. In Jirel, Newari, and Sherpa, the only role marked in the verb is that of actor. Since only actors are involved, role marking in verbs occurs only in the transitive set of clause types (BT, T, ST, and I).

Conjunct-Disjunct Patterns. The agreement pattern which exists between actors and their verbs in Newari, Jirel, and Sherpa is a rather simple one. In Newari there are six different forms of the finite verb: a conjunct and a disjunct form for each of three tense-aspects: past conjunct (PC), past disjunct (PD), stative conjunct (SC), stative disjunct (SD), future conjunct (FC), and future disjunct (FD). In Jirel and Sherpa there are four different forms: PC, PD, FC, and FD.

In all three languages the normal agreement pattern in the declarative calls for conjunct forms with first person actors and disjunct forms with actors of all other persons. In the inter-

rogative, the normal pattern calls for the conjunct forms with second person actors and disjunct forms with all other persons.

Person of the Actor:	Declarative	Interrogative
	Conjunct	Disjunct
First	Conjunct	Disjunct
Second	Disjunct	Conjunct
Third	Disjunct	Disjunct

Figure 8. Normal actor agreement patterns in Jirel, Newari, and Sherpa.

The pattern in Figure 8 holds whether the actor is actually expressed within the clause or is deleted and understood. In patterns in which there is no actor at all either expressed or deleted, as in the patterns BR, R, SR, and E, the finite verb occurs only in the disjunct form regardless of the person which occurs in any of the roles of the clause. Such patterns we will refer to as impersonal, in contrast to the personal patterns in which there is an actor. In the following examples we illustrate the normal role markers of the verb as listed in Figure 8.

Newari:

Jiḷ saphuu khanā

I saw the book. (-ā is Past Conjunct)

Chaa saphuu khana

You saw the book. (-a is Past Disjunct)

Waa saphuu khana

He saw the book.

Jiḷ saphuu khana lā?

Did I see the book?¹⁶

Chaa saphuu khana lā?

Did you see the book?

Waa saphuu khana lā?

Did he see the book?

Jirel:

'theḷi 'cyha 'sessungq (PD)

He killed a chicken.

khuiq 'cyha 'settukq (PD)

You killed a chicken.¹⁷

nye 'cyha 'setapq (PC)

I killed a chicken.

'theḷi 'cyha 'sessungq? (PD)

Did he kill a chicken?

khuiq 'cyha 'setapq? (PC)

Did you kill a chicken?

(First person interrogatives can be expressed only with

a tag question construction.)

Sherpa:

'tiki samaa sosung (PD)	He ate food.
khyore samaa sosung (PD)	You ate food.
nye samaa soyin (PC)	I ate food.
'tiki samaa sosung? (PD)	Did he eat food?
khyore samaa sowu? (PC)	Did you eat food?
nye samaa sosung? (PD)	Did I eat food?

Pronominalized Patterns. Chepang, Kham, and Sunwar have all been classified as pronominalized languages since their actors and their goal-marked roles (whether undergoer or site) are marked in the verb by means of affixes, some of which bear phonological resemblance to the free pronouns occurring respectively as actors, undergoers, and sites. These languages tend to be subject-object languages since the relations of subject and object are readily available to the surface structure, though Chepang is a borderline case in this respect. These languages are generally also actor-undergoer languages as well.

It seems advantageous to interpret the pronominal markers on the verb in Chepang, Kham, and Sunwar primarily as actor-undergoer markers and only secondarily as subject-object markers. If the subject-object relations were primary, we would expect the verbal markers to have constant reference to a given grammatical function. The active subject marker should, in such a case, be replaced in the passive by a marker which agrees with the new subject. Where actor-undergoer marking is primary, we would expect the verbal markers to have a constant reference to a given sememic function. What refers to the actor in the active should also refer to the actor in the passive and consequently no change of markers would be required. In Kham we find the latter pattern.

nga: nora-lay nga-ra-poh-ke
I they-Gol I-them-hit-past (active)

nord-lay nga: nga-ra-poh-o
they-Gol I I-them-hit-passive

The goal-marked item is the subject of the passive. The unmarked item is the subject of the active clause.

Kham marks the person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd) and number (sing-

BT Act+Gol	S/T Act+Und	ST Act	D/I Act
BA/BR Und	A/R Und	SA/SR	C/E

Figure 9. Roles marked in the Kham verb.

Sunwar marks a grammatical and a sememic feature in the Transitive and BiTransitive verbs. It marks the person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) and number (singular, dual, or plural) of an item which is in grammatical focus (either the actor or the goal-marked role, but not both), and the role which is played by that item. In the following examples the actor is in focus and the clause appears to be active in force.

BT go meko-kali kitaab gee-ta
I that-Gol book give-1st sg past actor
I gave a book to him.

BT go meko an-kali kitaab gee-ta-mi
I them-to book give-1st sg past actor pl
I gave a book to them.

In the second example the out-of-focus role is registered in the verb as a plural goal by means of the suffix, *-mi*. If the out-of-focus role had been dual instead of plural, the suffix would have been *-si*. Where the goal-marked role is in focus, the clause appears to be passive in force.

BT meko-m aan-kali kitaab ge-ti
he-Agt I-Gol book give-1st sg past goal
I was given a book by him.

BT meko-puki-m aan-kali kitaab ge-ti-mi
he-pl-Agt I-Gol book give-1st sg past goal-pl
I was given a book by them.

The number of out-of-focus roles is indicated only where the role involved is dual or plural.

BT Act/Gol	T Act/Und	ST Act	I Act
BR Und	R Und	SR	E

Figure 10. In-focus roles marked in the Sunwar verb. In T and BT patterns only one role is marked. The role chosen, whether actor or goal-marked role is also indicated by the verbal affix.

The verbal role marking system in Chepang has close similarities to the Sunwar system. Like Sunwar, Chepang generally marks a grammatical and a sememic feature in the Transitive and BiTransitive verb. By one marker the person and number of the item in grammatical focus is registered in the verb. The item in focus can be either the actor or the goal-marked role, but not both. The role of the item in grammatical focus is registered in the verb by means of a separate affix. When the role of the item in grammatical focus is that of actor, this fact is registered in the verb by means of the suffix, -u. When the role of the item in grammatical focus is either the undergoer or the goal site, this fact is registered in the verb by means of the suffix -taa.

Where the roles eligible for grammatical focus are the same with respect to person, one may choose to place one role or the other in focus. Where they differ in person, however, the placement of focus is determined by a hierarchy in which non-third person roles rank over third person roles and, within non-third person roles, dual and plural roles rank over singular roles.

ngi-ʔi ʔow-kaay sing? waan-naa-ng-s-u
 we-Agt he-Gol wood bring-tense-1st-pl-actor focus
 We (not including you) bring him wood.

In this clause there is an actor, ngi-ʔi 'we-Agt', which is first person and there is a goal-marked role, ʔow-kaay 'he-Gol', which is third person. In such a clause grammatical focus can fall only upon the actor, since first person outranks third. The fact that the actor is in focus is signalled by the suffix -u on the verb.

When we reverse the situation and have a third person actor together with a goal-marked first person, the only possible assignment of grammatical focus is to the goal-marked role.

?ow?-?i ngi-kaay sing? waan?-naa-taa-ng-i
 he-Agt we-Gol wood bring-tense-goal focus-1st-pl
 He brought wood to us (not including you).

The fact that the goal-marked role is in focus is signalled by the suffix -taa on the verb.

In certain instances the person or number (but not both) of some out-of-focus role can be registered in the verb.

ngaa-?i ?ow?-nis-kaay sing? waan?-naa-ng-c-u
 I-Agt he-dual-Gol wood bring-tense-1st-dual goal-actor
 focus
 I bring wood to those two.

Here the number of the out-of-focus goal-marked role is registered in the verb as dual by means of the suffix -c.

BT Act/Gol	T Act/Und	ST Act	I Act
BR Und	R Und	SR	E

Figure 11. Roles marked in the Chepang verb. In T and BT clauses generally only one role is marked in the verb. The role marked is determined by a hierarchy in which non-third person roles rank over third person roles and, among non-third person roles, dual and plural roles rank over singular roles. Where the two roles are both third person, either may be chosen. The role chosen, whether actor or goal-marked is also indicated in the verb by means of a separate marker.

Subject Agreement Patterns. Nepali, which belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages, is also a subject-object language. Nepali marks one agreement pattern in the verb. There is good reason to believe that the agreement in the Nepali verb is subject agreement rather than actor agreement as is the case with the Tibeto-Burman languages of this report. Agreement patterns occur not only in the transitive set, but in the receptive and attributive sets as well. The verb agrees with the subject in person (1st, 2nd, 3rd), number (singular and plural), gender (masculine and feminine), and honorific grade (four grades). Nepali also has impersonal forms in which there is no subject agreement.

BT Act	T Act	ST Act	I Act
BR Und	R Und	SR	E

Figure 12. Roles which have subject agreement with the verb in Nepali.

D. Focus Marking.

Focus markers may be thought of in tagmemic terms as belonging to the grammatical organization of a clause, that is, to box 1 of the 9-box tagmeme. They differ in this respect from role markers which belong to the sememic organization of a clause (box 4). In this paper we treat only two kinds of focus: unmarked focus and thematic focus.

Unmarked Focus. Unmarked focus is that organization in focus and attention which is inherent to a clause. It occurs in clauses which have no special focus markings and have undergone no special focus processes (such as permutation, deletion, or the insertion of special particles). A description of a clause in unmarked focus involves relational categories such as subject, object, indirect object, referent, adjunct and predicate. As we have indicated earlier, these relations appear to be less direct-

ly marked in actor-undergoer languages than they are in subject-object languages. Though focus marking is universal among the languages of this report, certain specific notions such as subject and object are exceedingly difficult to define for certain languages of this report.

We have taken the notion of subject to be equivalent to that of unmarked theme. Although it is easily possible to thematize anything other than the subject, a clause in which only nuclear items are present and to which no special thematization processes have applied will have its subject as theme. In this special instance in languages of this report the subject stands first in the clause and is what the rest of the clause is about. For the languages of this report, the roles played by the subject appear to be ranked in the order, actor, goal-marked site, undergoer, locative site. This ranking appears to mirror the natural word order of clauses in unmarked focus for most languages of the report. Thus, while subject selection can be described for most languages of this report in terms of a ranking of roles as in English, it does not involve either permutation from an underlying order or a change in case form as appears to be true of English from the point of view of case grammar.

Thematic Focus. Thematic focus brings attention to bear upon information which is relatively available in the context. Each clause has its starting point or theme which links the clause to the preceding context and from which the speaker proceeds to relate new information. It is this starting point which is placed under special attention in thematic focus.

We noted earlier that in unmarked focus the theme of a clause is equivalent to its subject. In thematic focus, however, it is quite possible to thematize some role other than the normal subject role. At this point a sharp contrast becomes apparent between actor-undergoer languages and subject-object languages. For purposes of illustration, we shall limit our comparison at this point to Newari and Kham (both languages of the Tibeto-Burman group).

In Newari, an actor-undergoer language, it is generally possible to thematize any role in the clause by the simple device of fronting. Take, for example, a typical BiTransitive clause with a goal site.

Waa jitaa khicā bila
 Act Sit Und
 He gave me a dog.

Jitaa waa khicā bila
 Sit Act Und
 I was given a dog by him.

Khicā waa jitaa bila
 Und Act Sit
 A dog was given to me by him.

In this triplet, the first clause is saying something about waa, the one who gave the dog to me; the second clause is saying something about jitaa, the one to whom the dog was given; and the third clause is saying something about khicā, the thing given to me. The three clauses have different themes, and in instances such as this, one may even choose to say that the three clauses have different subjects. In doing so, however, one gains nothing more than another term to use in talking about theme. On this view the notion of subject is simply that of theme. There would be nothing independently true of subjects which would not at the same time also be true of themes. Theme appears to be an important grammatical function for Newari. The importance of subject as a grammatical function for Newari is not nearly as easy to see.

In Kham, a subject-object language, the theme of a clause and its subject are clearly distinguishable. It is possible to thematize any role (or virtually any peripheral item) in the clause. The subject of a given clause, on the other hand, can occur only on one of two roles in Transitive and BiTransitive clauses, and on only one role in each of the other clause patterns.

Starting with the assumption that in unmarked focus the subject of a clause is its theme, we find that we can define two subject types for Kham: active and passive. In active voice where all items are present in their unmarked order, the actor is theme, and is thus also subject. In passive voice where all items are present in their unmarked order, the undergoer or goal-marked site is theme (and thus also subject).

Marked focus can result from the application of deletions or permutations (or both) to either the unmarked active or the unmarked passive. Since subject and theme are defined independently of one another in Kham, it is possible to plot the various combinations of subject and theme with the roles of actor, undergoer, and site. These are summarized in Figure 13. A site in Kham cannot be a subject, but it can be a theme. The active norm is for the actor to be both subject and theme. In the following clause Ram is both subject and theme.

rame ri:h ja:lx ja:hkeo
 Ram water in the pot he put it
 Ram put water in the pot.

The passive norm is for the undergoer to be both subject and theme. In the following clause, ri:h 'water' is undergoer and is both subject and theme.

ri:h ja:lx rame oja:h.o
 water in the pot Ram put (passive)
 Water was put in the pot by Ram.

To get an actor as theme together with an undergoer which is subject, the clause has to be put into the passive and the subject-undergoer deleted as in the following. (The undergoer is still marked as subject in the verb.)

rame oja:h.o
 Ram put (passive)
 It was put in by Ram.

Unfortunately, the English translation of this example fails to capture the thematic status of Ram. Similarly, deletions on the active form can be used to thematize the undergoer while retaining the actor as subject. (The actor is still marked as subject in the verb.)

ri:h ja:hkeo
 water he-put-it
 He put water in. /Water he put in.

For further examples of thematic focus in Kham see Part I of this volume, pages 64 and following.

Role of the Subject			
Role of the Theme	actor	undergoer	Site
actor	active norm	passive plus deletions	X
undergoer	active plus deletions	passive norm	X
site	active plus deletions and permutations	passive plus deletions or permutations	X

Figure 13. Possible combinations of subject roles and theme roles in Kham. Cells corresponding to possible combinations show the basic form (active or passive) together with any rules (deletion or permutation) required to arrive at the relevant form. Cells corresponding to impossible combinations are filled with 'X'.

In Chepang and Sunwar it is not yet clear how the subject relation should be defined. In Sunwar it is possible to place either the actor or the goal-marked role in grammatical focus by registering the person and number of the appropriate role in the verb. The same is true of Chepang where the two roles involved are both third person participants. Where the two roles involved are of different person, the placement of grammatical focus is determined by rule in terms of a ranking of persons. It is not clear whether the person marked in the verb should be considered a subject marker or not. We do not ordinarily think of a change of person as involving a change of subject. Changes in person marking in the verb do not require changes in word order as is required by the passive in Kham. In Sunwar the role marked in the verb is normally deleted from the clause whereas the roles not marked are usually not deleted. This suggests that the deleted and marked role may represent given information in Sunwar. These observations tend to suggest that Chepang and Sunwar may represent a third language grouping that is somewhere between the more typical actor-undergoer languages and the more typical subject-object languages.

E. Derived Patterns.

Generally, a clause may be considered to be an inherent basic clause of some cell in the transitivity matrix when the following stipulations have been met.

- 1) The predicate consists of a simple verb where no optional expansion of the finite system or derivational system has been exercised.
- 2) All nuclear roles which subcategorize the verb are capable of realization as free forms. (Only those nuclear items which independently subcategorize the verb are taken into account in determining the inherent type.)

Where these stipulations have not been met, the clause is viewed as derived. Derived types can in general be traced back to parent types which are basic. Basic types can generally be related to derived types by means of derivational rules. When a clause is derived it contrasts with the parent clause with respect to one or more of the following characteristics: 1) the set of nuclear roles with which it may occur, 2) the grammatical arrangement of these roles in relation to the grammatical functions of the clause, 3) the classification of the clause with respect to the discourse categories, state and event.

In the languages under study in this report we have distinguished five basic types of rules corresponding to five basic kinds of operations performed by the rules upon the parent clause type. There are rules that 1) add roles, 2) delete roles, 3) embed the parent clause within some other clause or to some other constituent, 4) shift the clause from one discourse category (such as state or event) to another, and 5) alter the relationship between boxes 1 and 4 (i.e., between the grammatical and the sememic functions of the clause). The fifth operation has so far been found only in Kham. We will discuss the languages of this report in terms of the first four kinds of rules.

Addition Rules. For the languages of this report, the addition of a role to a basic clause can also be viewed as an embedding, at least from a sememic point of view. The embeddings we treat here are those which are difficult to treat as embeddings from the point of view of grammatical surface structure.

Most of the languages show remnants of a system which may once have been a productive derivation whereby receptive or intransitive set clauses are transitivized. Benedict (1972) mentions at least three Tibeto-Burman systems in which verbal affixes are productive of "directives, causatives, or intensives." In the section, Tibeto-Burman prefixed *s- (1972:105) he states that "TB prefixed *s- in verb roots is directive, causative, or intensive. It plays a prominent role in Tibetan (s-), Gyarung, Kachin (śa- dza-), and Nung (śa-), as well as in Lepcha (in the form of palatalization) and Burmese (in the form of aspiration or surdization of the initial); ... Prefixed *s- with verbs appears only sporadically elsewhere, ..."

In Kham, prefixed sx- is still a productive prefix by means of which receptive set verbs and Intransitive verbs can be derived to Transitive and BiTransitive types. This kind of derivation apparently does not result in grammatical embedding or double function of constituents. For example, the Receptive clause,

ri:h bol-ke
water spill-pst 3rd sg
The water spilled.

can be derived into the Transitive cell by means of the prefix sx- as in the following example.

noe ri:h sx-bo-ke-o
he water transitivizer-spill-past-3rd sg actor
He spilled the water.

In Newari there is a similar pattern which, however, is no longer productive. There are pairs of verbs in which a Receptive or Intransitive verb has an initial voiced stop and its Transitive counterpart has an initial voiceless aspirated stop at approximately the same point of articulation. This situation is similar to what Benedict describes for present-day Burmese (1972:105). Consider the following pairs.

duna	(he) sank	thuna	(he) immersed (it)
dena	(he) slept	thena	(he) put to sleep
benā	(it) came loose	phena	(he) loosened (it)
gyāta	(he) was afraid	khyāta	(he) frightened (someone)
guta	(it) was torn	khuta	(he) tore (it)

ta jyāta (it) burst	ta chyāta (he) made (it)burst
kwa jita (it) was decided	kwa chita (he) decided (it)

In Sunwar we find similar pairs of verbs:

brem-tsa	to be bent down	prem-tsa	to bend (something) down
'dook-tsa	to fall	'took-tsa	to drop (something)
gyam-tsa	to get erased	kyam-tsa	to erase (something)
dzeek-tsa	to get torn	tseek-tsa	to tear (something)
dzam-tsa	to get lost	sam-tsa	to loose (something)

Benedict (1972:100-1) says "Suffixed *-t is clearly causative or directive in some instances, e.g. T 'byed-pa 'open, separate' (tr.) 'bye-ba (intr.), T 'gyed-pa 'divide, disperse' (tr.) 'gya-ba (intr.), ... Kachin also has causative suffixed -t, e.g. K mādit 'moisten, wet, dip' mādi 'moist, wet'; ... The Bahing-Vayu -t(o) suffix is exclusively of this type; cf. Bahing ri-so 'laugh', ri-to 'laugh at'; Vayu khu 'steal', khut 'cause to steal'; ..."

Magar reports pairs of verbs which reflect suffixed -t as a causative or transitivizer.

cyas-	be torn	'cyat-	tear
ges-	play	'get-	amuse (someone)
kes-	move	'ket-	move (something)
so-	get up	'sot-	get (someone) up
armha	sound	'armhat-	play (an instrument)
chus	brush against	chut-	cause to brush against

Jirel and Sherpa report pairs of verbs in which the Receptive or Semi-Transitive member of the pair has an aspirated initial consonant and the Transitive or BiTransitive member of the pair has the corresponding unaspirated initial consonant.¹⁸ Thus Jirel has

cho-sungq	become cooked	co-sungq	cook (something)
'cyhak-sungq	break	'cyak-sungq	cause to break
'thos-sungq	get wounded	'tos-sungq	cause to get wounded
then-sungq	go	ten-sungq	lead

'phos-sung	spill	'pos-sungq	cause to spill
'phes-sung	open	'pes-sungq	cause to open
'phap-sung	climb down	'pap-sungq	take down

and similar pairs can be listed for Sherpa.

khol-sung	boil	kol-sungq	boil (something)
phe-nok	be spilled	pe-nokq	pour out
'che-sung	get broken	ce-sungq	cut down
khaa-nok	get cracked	kaa-nokq	split

There are other patterns involved in this kind of pairing. Jirel has one involving the voicing of the initial consonant.

'me barsung	The fire burnt.
'thekei 'me parsungq	He lit the fire.

Sherpa has a similar example (z in Sherpa is voiceless: [ʃ]) with voiced and voiceless members just reversed.

maar zinok	The butter melted.
'tiki maar jinok	He melted the butter.

In nearly all of these pairings the transitive member has high tone. This might possibly be a reflection of an earlier prefixed s-.

Nepali, which belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages, has a transitivizing rule which is still in function within a large set of BiReceptive, Receptive, Intransitive, and SemiTransitive clauses. The same rule also functions in quite a number of Transitive clauses as well which might be an indication that causative might be a better designation than transitivizing. Although the rule has various morphological consequences, they all involve the vowel a either as a suffix or as a replacement for another vowel. The following examples illustrate pairs of examples making use of a in Nepali.

mil-	fit	mila-	make fit
pi-	drink	pia-	give to drink
kha-	eat	khua-	feed
uml-	boil	umal-	cause to boil
mrx-	die	mar-	kill

Deletion Rules. The languages of this report typically allow deletion of roles quite freely and without marking or registration of such deletion within the verb. This is quite in keeping with the fact that most of the languages of this report are actor-undergoer languages. It is perhaps significant that the languages which constitute the major exceptions to the free deletion characteristic are subject-object languages, namely, Kham and Nepali.

Kham registers a deleted role in the verb by means of the affix -si. The affix, -si may mark the deletion of an actor or of an undergoer, and a sequence of two (-si-si) marks the deletion of both. Thus we have

nga: ri:h alx nga-ja:h-ke
I (Act) water (Und) in here I-put-past active
I put water in here.

ri:h alx ja:h-si-ke
water (Und) in here put-deleted actor-past active
(I) put water in here.

alx ja:h-si-si-ke
in here put-deleted actor-deleted undergoer-past active
In here is put-able (I did it).

Deletions marked by -si in Kham may produce a clause with a reflexive sense. A -si deletion may also change a basic transitive clause into a derived receptive. There are a number of other derivational processes involving -si in Kham, but the reflexive and the receptive derivations are of particular interest because of the apparent parallels we find in Sunwar and Magar.

Benedict (1972:97) notes that suffixed -s is "often reflexive in verb roots." Sunwar reports a verbal affix -s which marks the reflexive. As is true in Kham, the reflexive in Sunwar is effected by the obligatory deletion of an undergoer which is referentially identical to the actor. The result is a derivation from BT or T to ST or I. The reflexive in Sunwar can apparently occur only in a subclass of BT and T verbs which have a marker -t as part of the verb (which may be a reflection of the causative suffix -t found in TB roots (Benedict 1972:97). Thus Sunwar has

ama-m al-kali 'tsiik-t-aak-w
 mother-Agt child-Gol wash-transitive-?-3d person actor
 Mother washed the child.

ama 'tsiik-s-aak-w
 mother wash-reflexive-?-3d person actor
 Mother washed herself.

in which a suffix -s replaces a suffix -t in reflexive derivations.

Magar reports a large number of Receptive and Intransitive verb stems which end in s. Some of these stems are members of pairs in which the Transitive counterpart ends in a stem-final t. The following is a small sample.

cyat-	tear	cyas	get torn
chut-	brush against	chus-	get brushed
get-	amuse (someone)	ges-	play
ket-	move (something)	kes-	move

The suffix -s is no longer productive as a receptivizing device for native Magar verbs. It is productive, however, in its combination with verbs borrowed into Magar from Nepali. Thus we have pairs such as the following.

bildi-	melt (something)	bildis-	get melted
dohori-	repeat (something)	dohoris-	get repeated
gijadi-	tease (someone)	gijadis-	feel teased

Although not much information is available on the language, there are indications that Chantel (a language closely related to the Gurung group of languages in terms of vocabulary) marks actor deletion in the verb by means of the affix -si as is done in Kham. For example, actor deleted adjectival forms are common in Chantel as in

sar-si-wa	naku
kill-deleted actor-adjectivalizer	dog
The dog which was killed.	

Chantel lies geographically between Gurung and Kham and may prove to be a link between the two languages.

In Nepali, actor deletion can be indicated by the addition of the affix *-i* to the verb stem. In Nepali, actor deletion is accompanied by a shift of the subject from actor to undergoer. For this reason, the rule has been called a (personal) passivization rule. There is also an impersonal passivization rule which yields a derived clause in which there are no subject agreement markers in the verb.

tes-le mx-lai kut'-io
he-Agt I-Gol hit-3rd sg
He hit me.

Personal passive may operate upon this clause in deriving the following clause:

mx kut'-i-e'
I hit-deleted actor-1st sg
I was hit (personal).

Alternatively, if impersonal passive applies, the following clause results:

mx-lai kut'-i-io
I-Gol hit-deleted actor-3rd sg
I was hit (impersonal).

Embedding Rules. The embedding of one clause within another is common in certain types of constructions such as those involving modals, causatives, and permissives. Our use of the term 'embedding' may be somewhat unusual in that we use it not only in instances in which the verb of the main clause is a full verb in the grammatical sense, but we also use it where the 'verb' of the main clause is a causative affix which can be viewed as a sememic predicate but not as a grammatical verb. Where embedding occurs, the new (main, superordinate) predicate (whether a full verb in the grammatical sense or a sememic predicate manifested as an affix) imposes its own case frame upon the embedded clause, often forcing a re-interpretation of some or all of its roles. The predicate of the embedded clause often becomes part of the undergoer or of the complement of the new main predicate.

Where the modal, causative, permissive or the like is a full grammatical verb it will often occur in simple independent clauses as well as in the more complex clauses involving embedding. The meanings of a verb in these two kinds of environ-

ment are often quite distinct. The verb *bila* 'give' in Newari also occurs as a benefactive verb in complex clauses involving embedding. The two meanings, while not unrelated, are surely distinct. The causative verb, *pxrin.*, in Kham is another example. Where *pxrin.* occurs as the main verb of a simple independent clause its meaning is 'to send', and it governs the case frame, actor, undergoer, locative site within the simple clause. When *pxrin.* functions as a causative verb it no longer means 'to send' and it governs a different case frame, namely, actor, goal-site, undergoer.¹⁹ The contrast between *pxrin.* in its literal sense and *pxrin.* in its causative sense can be seen from the following two examples.

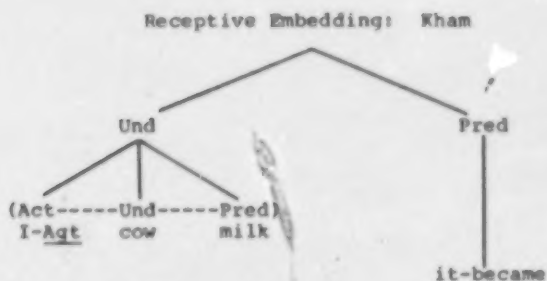
noe	oka:hlay	syakxri	kxy-na	pxrin.keo
he	his dog	meat	eat	he sent him
Act	Und	----	Loc-Sit----	Pred
He sent his dog to eat the meat.				

noe	oka:hlay	syakxri	kxy-o	pxrin.keo
he	his dog	meat	eat	he caused him
Act	Gol-Sit	-----	Und-----	Pred
He made his dog eat the meat.				

From this pair of examples we see that *pxrin.* 'send' can also take an embedded clause, but that the form of the embedded clause is distinct from that which occurs with the causative verb *pxrin.*²⁰

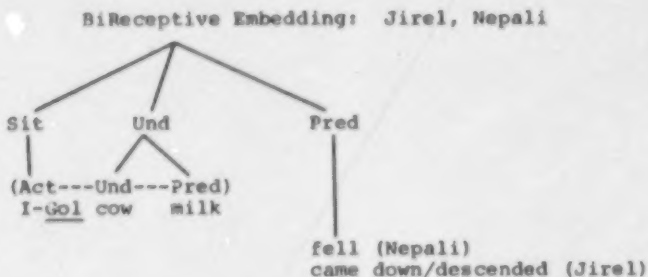
We have observed two basic types of embedding in the languages of this report: simple embedding, in which the entire embedded clause is re-interpreted as functioning within a single role with respect to the new modal verb and complex embedding, in which the embedded clause is re-interpreted into two parts, the actor functioning in one role, and the rest of the clause functioning in another role with respect to the modal verb. These two kinds of embedding can be illustrated in terms of schematic representations of the obligative embedding and the causative embedding as it occurs in various languages of the report.

Obligative Embedding, Receptive Type: (The string of roles enclosed in parentheses are the roles of the original underlying clause as marked before embedding.)



I must milk the cow. Literally: That I milk the cow became.

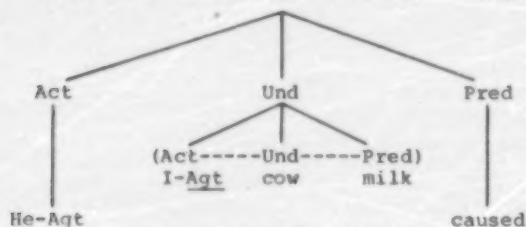
Obligative Embedding, BiReceptive Type: (The string of roles in parentheses is that of the underlying clause. In this type the underlying actor is re-interpreted as a site and is goal-marked as a result of the embedding.)



I must milk the cow. Literally: Milking the cow fell to me/came down on me.

Causative Embedding, Transitive Type: (This type of embedding involves no change of markers in the roles of the underlying clause. The underlying clause as a whole becomes the under-goer of the causative clause.)

Transitive Embedding: Chepang, Tamang

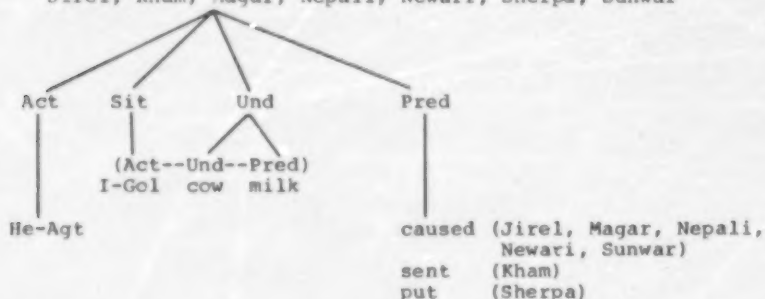


He made me milk the cow. Literally: I milked the cow, he caused it.

Causative Embedding, BiTransitive Type: (In this type of causative embedding the underlying actor is re-interpreted as a site and is goal-marked as a result of the embedding.)

BiTransitive Embedding:

Jirel, Kham, Magar, Nepali, Newari, Sherpa, Sunwar



He made me milk the cow.

Shifting Rules. For each of the languages of this report the set of eventive verbs was much larger than the set of inherently stative verbs. On the other hand, the set of devices for stativizing eventive verbs was also much larger than was the set of devices for eventivizing inherently stative verbs. The derivational system provides a balance for inherent lexical material available to each of the languages studied.

Eventivization. All languages which have contrastive clause types which belong to the stative set (BiStative, Stative, SemiStative, or Descriptive) also have an eventivization of these types into their respective transitive set types (BiTransitive, Transitive, SemiTransitive, or Eventive) which consists of changing the normal state tense to an event tense. The event tense is the simple past which marks the chain of events central to a narrative. Where the event tense is applied to inherently stative clauses, however, the resultant meaning is not quite parallel to the meaning of the same tense when applied to an inherently eventive clause. Thus when a clause meaning

He knows how to read.

is changed into simple past, the resultant meaning is not

He knew how to read.

but is rather

He came to know (or learned) how to read.

This same device is used in Kham, Magar, and Sunwar in deriving receptive-set clauses from attributive-set clauses. Descriptive concepts such as 'big', 'cold', and 'heavy' are expressed as lexical verbs which can be used as adjectives only after adjectivalization. The normal tense for these adjective-like verbs is the stative tense. A shift to the event tense results in meanings such as 'became big', 'became cold', and 'became heavy'.

In these three languages, attributive-set clauses can also be eventivized by way of a second derivational route, namely, by adjectivalizing the verb and introducing a copula. The result is similar to the English 'is big', 'is cold', and 'is heavy'. These copular attributives can then be eventivized by replacing the stative copula with an eventive copula yielding 'became big', 'became cold', and 'became heavy'.

In the other six languages of the report, attributive-set clauses are eventivized almost exclusively by means of this second kind of derivation, that is, by substitution of eventive copulas for stative copulas.

Stativization. An eventive verb form is one that is appropriate to the chain of events which constitutes the backbone of a narrative. Any derivation that yields a form not appropriate to the narrative backbone is viewed as a stativization. Included as stative are all forms which do not assert the actual occurrence of an event. All negatives are thus stative, as are imperatives, interrogatives, forms with modal verbs and the like. An adequate discussion of stativization in the languages of the report would require large portions of the clause papers for each of the languages involved and goes beyond the limits of this account. We limit our discussion to one such derivation which is similar in meaning to the English perfect.

A number of the languages of this report use a construction in which a form of the verb 'to be' is added to a non-finite form of the verb. Each of the following may be glossed 'I have gone' or more literally, 'I am in the state of having gone.'

Jirel	nga gal-a wotan
	I go is
Sherpa	nga gal-N 'wye
	I go is
Kham	nga: ba-dx nga-le
	I go I-am
Nepali	mx gx-eko chu
	I go am
Sunwar	go la-sho 'baakt
	I go is
Newari	ji wanā-gu du
	I go is

In Magar and Tamang, the same derivation is accomplished by means of an affix.

Magar nga nung-ani
 I gone-have

Tamang nga nyi-pala
 I gone-have

F. Contrasts among Clause Patterns.

In working on the analysis of clause patterns in the individual languages, considerable time was expended in search of the contrasts among clause types in terms of which the system of types could be justified for the language under study. Since many of the kinds of contrasts found among clause types were shared by a number of the languages under study, we felt it

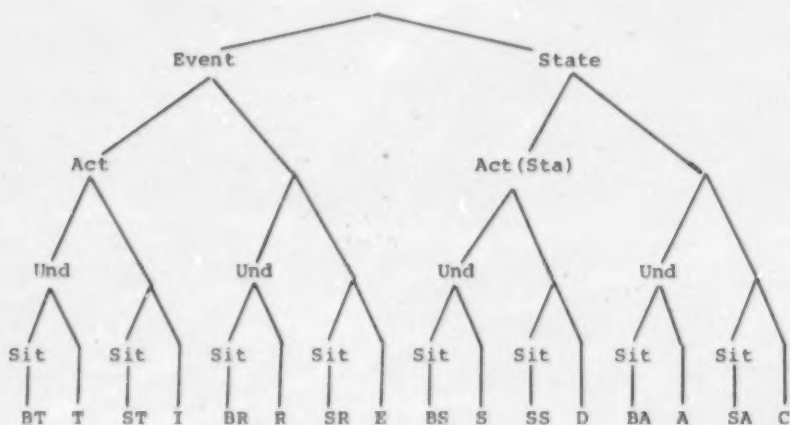


Figure 14. Etic transitivity system.

might be of interest to list them briefly here in the hope that those working within this approach on other languages might save themselves some time in coming to a contrastive statement by using this list as a preliminary search device. Our presentation is organized in terms of the following contrastive tree of clause types. Though none of the languages in this study have all of the clause types listed in the tree, the tree does provide a general frame of reference for the discussion of contrasts.

Within the tree of Figure 14, we will refer to various sets of clause types. Names of individual clause types will be capitalized. Names of sets of clause types will not be capitalized. We will speak of the event set as that which consists of the clause types, BiTransitive (BT), Transitive (T), SemiTransitive (ST), Intransitive (I), BiReceptive (BR), Receptive (R), SemiReceptive (SR), and Eventive (E). The term, event set may designate that subset of the etic event set which consists of the event clause types that are contrastive for a given language. In opposition to the event set is the state set which consists of the clause types, BiStative (BS), Stative (S), SemiStative (SS), Descriptive (D), BiAttributive (BA), Attributive (A), SemiAttributive (SA), and Circumstantial (C). The term state set may likewise be used to refer to that subset of the state set which is contrastive within a given language.

At the next lower level within the tree of Figure 14 we distinguish four different sets, the transitive set (consisting of BT, T, ST, and I), the receptive set (consisting of BR, R, SR, and E), the stative set (consisting of BS, S, SS, and D) and the attributive set (consisting of BA, A, SA, and C). Again, each set name can be used to designate the subset of clause types which are basic and contrastive for a given language.

1. Contrasts between State and Event.

Any deep-seated contrast between clause types or sets of clause types should have many symptoms. One expression of a deeper contrast between the event set and the state set is that a given morpheme will have a somewhat different meaning when it occurs in state set clauses from what it has when it occurs with clauses belonging to the event set. In Kham, the present tense marker, *-zya*, is one such morpheme. When it occurs with verbs of the state set it conveys the meaning of static state.

nxhm khyo:-zya

The tumpline is long. (Not:
'is getting long.')
no syah syah ngxmsi-zya

He enjoys dancing.

When -zya occurs with verbs of the event set,⁶ it conveys the meaning of dynamic or changing state.

nxhm khyu:-zya

The tumpline is getting worn
out / is wearing out.
no syah-zya

He is dancing.

In Magar, the string -cx le carries the meaning of state when it occurs with verbs of the state set.

mxylha dhes-cx le

Mailha is fat.

mxylha dhes-cx-le-a

Mailha was fat.

With verbs of the event set, -cx le carries the meaning of probability.

mxylha lhom-cx le

Mailha might grow up.

mxylha lhom-cx le-a

Mailha would have grown up.

In Tamang the modal verb ta- carries the meaning 'become' when it occurs in a clause of the state set.

'uhsu char ta-ci

It became new.

When ta- occurs in a clause of the event set it carries the meaning of imminent probability.

naki 'syi-sye ta-ci

The dog will soon die.

In Newari there is a past tense, which is basically event, and a state form of the verb. Any verb can be inflected for either form, but the semantic pattern accompanying these two forms is quite different for state set verbs from what it is for event set verbs. The state set pattern may be illustrated as follows.

Jā buu.	The rice is/was well cooked. (State form)
Jā buta.	The rice came to be well cooked. (Eventive form)
Mirāyā jyā thāku.	The work is/was difficult for Mira. (State form)
Mirāyā jyā thākula.	The work came to be difficult for Mira. (Eventive form)
Jitaa thwa kwathā jyu.	This room was/is good enough for me. (State form)
Jitaa thwa kwathā jula.	This room came to be good enough for me. (Event form)

The event set pattern may be illustrated as follows.

Waa lā pālā.	He cut the meat. (Event form)
Waa lā pāā.	He cuts meat (habitually). (State form)
Waa jā thula.	She cooked the rice. (Event form)
Waa jā thuu.	She cooks rice (habitually). (State form)
Wa jyāe dyātā.	He suffered loss in business. (Eventive form)
Wa jyāe dyāā.	He suffers loss in business (habitually). (State form)

In Newari the state form of a state set verb denotes a simple state. The state form of an event set verb denotes an habitual action. The event form of a state set verb denotes arrival in a state. The event form of an event set verb denotes a simple event in past time.

Another kind of difference between event set and state set clauses has to do with the optional expansions that are allowed

with each. Instrumental and manner adverbs appear to be restricted to event set clauses.

2. Contrasts between State and Event in Clauses which have Actors/Statants.

We turn now to contrasts between the transitive set (BT, T, ST, and I) and the stative set (BS, S, SS, and D). Here again we find a series of morphemes which are interpreted in one way in the transitive set and in quite a different way in clauses of the stative set. In Kham, when the verbal affix -na occurs with a verb of the stative set it carries the sense of internal process.

nga: be:h jxy.o ngasxyn.- <u>na</u> -zya	I am <u>getting to know/</u> <u>learning how to make</u> a basket.
--	--

Where the affix, -na, is used in a clause of the transitive set, the meaning is one of physical motion.

nga: be:h ngajxy- <u>na</u> -zya	I am <u>going off</u> to make a basket.
----------------------------------	--

In Jirel, the verbal affix, -kio, and in Sherpa, the verbal affix -kiwi carries the meaning of present state when it occurs in clauses of the stative set.

Jirel 'thekei 'thela 'ngo syek <u>kio</u>	He recognizes him.
Sherpa nye jangbulaa thong <u>guwi</u>	I see John.

In clauses of the transitive set this same affix carries the meaning of future tense, disjunct.

Jirel 'thekei set <u>kio</u>	He will kill.
Sherpa 'tiki de <u>kuwi</u>	He will lift it.

Another kind of contrast which holds quite generally between stative set clauses and transitive set clauses is a contrast of mood. Clauses of the transitive set occur quite naturally in the imperative. Clauses of the stative set either do not occur in the imperative or if they do they occur in the imperative with some specialized or idiomatic sense.

In Jirel and Sherpa, the verbs of the transitive set are personal in that they normally occur both in conjunct and disjunct forms. (For an explanation of these terms, see Section II.C. above.) The verbs of the stative set occur only in the disjunct form and are thus impersonal.

There are also differences in the kinds of derivations which can apply to the two sets. The set of modal verbs which can occur with stative set clauses is much more restricted than the set which can occur with transitive set clauses. Benefactive and causative constructions do not occur freely with stative set clauses whereas their occurrence with transitive set clauses is relatively free. In Kham, the passive voice occurs only with transitive set clauses. In Kham, the transitivizing affix *sx-* may be used to derive Transitive and BiTransitive clauses from Intransitive and SemiTransitive clauses respectively. It cannot be used to derive Stative clauses from Descriptive clauses. In other words, the affix operates only within clauses of the transitive set.

3. Contrasts between State and Event in Clauses having no Actors/Statants.

There are also a number of contrasts which normally separate clauses of the attributive set (BA, A, SA, and C) from clauses of the receptive set (BR, R, SR, and E). One example from Kham may be cited as typical of those morphemes which receive a different interpretation when they occur with clauses of one set from that which they receive when they occur with clauses of the other set. In Kham, when the construction *-o take* occurs with clauses of the receptive set, the verb is nominalized and the interpretation is roughly as follows.

khyu: *-o take*

The worn out one became chosen.

When the same construction occurs with clauses of the attributive set no nominalization takes place. Rather, the verb becomes the grammatical complement of the receptive verb *take* 'become', and the net result is a shift from state to event.

gyo: *h-o take*

It became large.

In Jirel and Sherpa there are formal tense markers in clauses of the receptive set. In clauses of the attributive set there are no such tense markers.

In Chepang, Jirel, Nepali, Newari, Sherpa, and Tamang, the attributive set contains a large number of adjectives which occur with copulas. The receptive set does not have constructions of this sort except as they are derived by the substitution of an event copula 'become' for the inherent state copula 'be' of the attributive set.

There are also differences between the receptive set and the attributive set with respect to the derivational rules which may apply. In Kham, there is a causative rule which applies to clauses of the attributive set but not to clauses of the receptive set. There is also a transitivization rule which applies to clauses of the receptive set but not to clauses of the attributive set. The causative rule derives transitive clauses from inherent clauses of the attributive set by use of the causative auxiliary, -o ... jxy-.

nga: nxhm khyo:-o nga-jxy-ke

I made the tumpline long.
(A---> T)

The transitive rule, on the other hand, derives transitive-set clauses from inherent clauses of the receptive set by use of the transitivizing affix sx-.

nga: nxhm nag-sx-khyu:-ke

I wore the tumpline out.
(R---> T)

Clauses of the attributive set thus contrast with clauses of the receptive set in Kham in terms of the kinds of processes which are available to them for transitive derivation.

Content questions which elicit a verb form as an answer tend also to show a contrast between clauses of the attributive set and those of the receptive set. Questions which elicit attributive set verb forms are generally phrased with copular proverbs as in 'What is it like?' whereas questions which elicit receptive set verb forms are generally constructed with eventive verbs as in 'What happened to it?', 'What became of it?'

4. Contrasts between Clauses with Actors and Clauses without Actors.

There are a number of contrasts which separate those sets which have actors (i.e., the transitive and stative sets) from those sets which have no actors (i.e., the receptive and attributive sets). One example from Magar may be cited as typical of those morphemes which receive a different interpretation when they occur with clauses of one set from that which it receives when they occur with clauses of the other. In Magar there is an auxiliary, -cx chan-, which carries the meaning 'decided to' in clauses which take actors

T mxylyha disya sat-cx chxn-a Mailha decided to fish.

but which has the interpretation 'will certainly' in clauses which do not take actors.

R mxkxy git-cx chan-a The corn will certainly sprout.

Another contrast has to do with undergoer marking. In the languages of this report, undergoers are generally goal marked in clauses which also take actors. In clauses which do not take actors, undergoers cannot generally be goal-marked.

In Newari, only those verbs which occur with actors are personal. All other verbs are impersonal. (Impersonal verbs have only disjunct finite forms. Personal verbs have both conjunct and disjunct personal forms. See Section II.C. above.) In the pronominalized languages (Chepang, Kham, and Sunwar) there is a marker in the verb which agrees with the actor in person and number. This marker is present only in verbs which occur with actors. In Nepali, there is an agreement pattern both within the set of clauses which have actors and in the set which lacks actors but has undergoers. In clauses which have neither actors nor undergoers the agreement pattern is lacking. The contrast in Nepali between the set of clauses with actors and the set which lacks actors relates to the role played by the subject. In Nepali clauses with actors, the actor is subject and governs the verb for person, number, gender, and honorific grade. In Nepali clauses without actors but with undergoers the undergoer is subject and governs the verb for the same features as does the actor. Clauses lacking both actors and undergoers are subjectless and impersonal.

In Kham there are two different causative constructions, one of which is used with clauses that have actors, the other of which is used with clauses that lack actors.

noe zihm gyo:h-o jxy-keo He made the house big.

noe ngalay zihm jxy-o pxrin.-nakeo He made me build a house.

5. Contrasts between Event Clauses with and without Actors.

There are a number of contrasts which separate the transitive set from the receptive set of clauses. In Kham, the construction -o take is interpreted as a modal verb meaning 'must' in clauses of the transitive set but as a marker of a kind of nominal embedding in the receptive set.

nga: zihm jxy-o take I must build a house.

khyu:-o take The worn out one is the one which became chosen.

Also in Kham, the modal verb, pxyn.- 'want', carries the meaning 'want' when it occurs in clauses of the transitive set but is interpreted to mean 'about to' in clauses of the receptive set.

noe zihm jxy-o pxyn.-zyao He wants to build a house.

noe si-o pxyn.-zyao He is about to die.

In Tamang, the modal verb, 'syee- 'know', is interpreted to mean 'know how' when it occurs in clauses of the transitive set but is interpreted to mean 'seem' when it occurs in clauses of the receptive set.

thece 'raapa 'syee-pa She knows how to weave.

the chingpa 'syee-pa He seems to be waking up.

Another contrast quite general to the languages of this report relates to the use of the imperative. In general imperatives have their normal interpretation only with clauses of the transitive set. Where imperatives are possible with clauses of the imperative set they generally have a semantically irregular interpretation.

Jirel, Newari, and Sherpa have conjunct-disjunct agreement patterns in clauses of the transitive set but not in clauses of the receptive set.

In Kham the passive voice occurs with clauses of the transitive set but not with clauses of the receptive set.

In Kham, a single occurrence of the verbal affix *-si* marks actor deletion in the transitive set but undergoer deletion in clauses of the receptive set. In the transitive set the sequence *-si-si* is possible. It marks the deletion of both the actor and the undergoer. Such a sequence is not possible in clauses of the receptive set.

For Transitive and BiTransitive clauses in Kham there are three kinds of nominals that can be formed.

<i>o-jxy-o</i>	The one which he made
<i>jxy-si-o</i>	The one which was made
<i>jxy-o</i>	The one who made

For SemiTransitive and Intransitive clauses there are two kinds of nominals, but for Receptive clauses there is only one such nominal.

<i>si-o</i>	The one who died.
-------------	-------------------

In Nepali, the verbal affix *-i*, which marks a passive form in which an actor has been deleted, occurs only in the transitive set of clauses.

Content questions which elicit a verb form as an answer tend also to show a contrast between clauses of the transitive set and clauses of the receptive set. Questions which elicit transitive set forms have expressions which may be glossed 'What did he do?' whereas questions which elicit receptive set forms have expressions which may be glossed 'What happened to it/him?'

6. Contrasts between State Clauses with and without Actors (Statants).

There are relatively few contrasts between the stative and the attributive sets beyond those mentioned in Section 4. In Jirel and Sherpa, the tense markers, -kio and -kiwi occur with clauses of the stative set but not in clauses of the attributive set.

In Kham the causative does not occur with clauses of the stative set but does occur with clauses of the attributive set.

G. Patterning of Clause Types.

There appear at present to be three basic patternings of clause types in terms of which all the systems of basic contrastive clause types can be described. Pattern I can be described as the result of the application of three constraints upon the full transitivity matrix:

- 1) There is at least one role per basic contrastive clause type.
- 2) There are no statants (i.e., state actors).
- 3) There is no contrastive site.

The first constraint rules out the Eventive and Circumstantial patterns. The second constraint rules out the whole stative set. The third constraint rules out BiTransitive, SemiTransitive, BiReceptive, SemiReceptive, BiAttributive, and SemiAttributive. Pattern I is exemplified by Chepang and can be represented in terms of the following matrix. One point of indecision in the Chepang analysis is whether or not the BiTransitive type is independently contrastive. If this is ultimately recognized as a separate type, it may represent an entering wedge for the contrastive status of site in general.

Pattern II differs from Pattern I in having eight contrastive clause types where Pattern I has four. For each of the types in Pattern I, Pattern II has one added type with a contrastive site. Pattern II is exemplified by Tamang and can be represented in terms of the following matrix.

	T		I
	R		
	A		

Figure 15. Clause type Pattern I: Chepang.

BT	T	ST	I
BR	R		
BA	A		

Figure 16. Clause type Pattern II: Tamang.

Kham and Sunwar may be described in relation to Pattern II. Kham is simply Pattern II plus Stative and Descriptive. Sunwar is Pattern II plus SemiAttributive and Eventive.

Pattern III can be described as the result of the application of two constraints upon the full transitivity matrix:

- 1) There is at least one role per basic contrastive clause type.
- 2) There are no statants (i.e., state actors).

Pattern III is exemplified by Magar and can be represented in terms of the following matrix.

The remaining languages of this report can be described in relation to Pattern III. Newari is Pattern III plus Stative.

BT	T	ST	I
BR	R	SR	
BA	A	SA	

Figure 17. Clause type Pattern III: Magar.

Nepali is Pattern III plus Eventive. Jirel is Pattern III plus Stative and SemiStative. Sherpa is Pattern III plus Stative, SemiStative, and Descriptive.

All the clause types in the transitivity matrix have been required for the purpose of describing clause derivation. No single language has more than thirteen of the sixteen possible basic contrastive clause types. Thus far there are only two cells in the transitivity matrix for which no language of the report has an inherent basic clause type. We have found no example of a contrastive BiStative clause, nor of a contrastive Circumstantial clause.

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FOOTNOTES.

¹This paper grows out of a workshop held in Nepal during the academic year 1971-72 under the project direction of Kenneth L. Pike. Had it not been for the stimulation and encouragement of Kenneth and Evelyn Pike, the approach described here and the results which have come from it might never have developed. It should not be assumed, however, that they would agree with everything presented here. We wish also to thank Joseph E. Grimes for helpful comments on Section II.A.

The analyses surveyed in this paper represent the work of many people. We wish to express our appreciation to the following individuals for stimulating discussion and for willingness to share their findings: Burkhard Schottelndreyer (Sherpa), Ross Caughley (Chepang), Dora Bieri and Marlene Schulze (Sunwar), Doreen Taylor (Tamang), Gary Shepherd (Magar), Churamani Bandhu (Nepali), Thakurlal Manandhar (Newari), Esther Strahm and Anita Maibaum (Jirel), Kent Gordon (Dhangar), Jennifer Williams and Alice Davis (Maithili), Uwe Gustafsson (Kotia) and Ronald L. Trail.

The research leading to this paper was sponsored in part by the Institute of International Studies, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under contract No. OEC-0-9-097721-2778 (014).

²Though the particular systematization of actor and undergoer given here is relatively new to tagmemics, the idea of

sememic functions as such is not entirely new. See, for example, Pike, 1967:196, 219. Corresponding references can be found in the preliminary edition of 1959. The influence of Fries, 1952, in this development was undoubtedly important.

³Fillmore (1968:59) has commented on the difficulty of defining the notion of subject in certain languages such as the so-called ergative languages. The references cited by Fillmore are not available to the writers, but from Fillmore's comments we would judge that these references support our contention that notions such as subject are not uniformly useful in the description of all languages of the world. The fact that they are not makes them interesting from a typological point of view.

⁴We have limited our discussion to relationships that can be seen in surface paradigms. Going deeper to case or role relationships in English, the notion of subject is associated with a ranking of cases which determines the unmarked choice of subject for a given clause. As Grimes points out (personal communication) this ranking is also operative in the marked choices of subject associated with passive constructions. Passive simply allows the choice of something other than an agent as subject.

⁵There are a great number of rules involving the subject relation in English that we have not mentioned. Deletion in certain dependent clauses, for example, is conditioned upon subject sharing. If a subject is deleted from the dependent clause it is understood to be identical to the subject of the main clause. Thus the oddity of

Having rained, I went downtown to get some rice.

is related to the oddity of

I rained

and the deleted giver of the book in

Having given me a book, John felt generous.

is understood to be the subject of the main clause, namely, John. Furthermore, even if there is no underlying role available to act as subject in a given sentence, the grammar of English will provide one, thus preserving the subject patterning required in

English. Thus the sentence

It is raining.

has a subject but this subject plays no semantic role in relation to the verb. One does not ask

What's raining?

It is also clear that the subject relation in English is quite independent of any particular case or role relation (in contrast, as we shall see, to Newari). Thus we have subjects which are agents,

He built the house.

subjects which are (moving) objects,

The tree fell.

subjects which are locations,

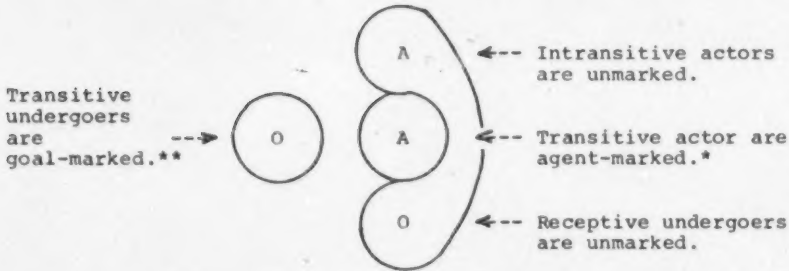
Kathmandu has an ideal climate.

subjects which are affected patients,

The house burned down.

and the like. We wish to thank Joseph E. Grimes for pointing out the relevance of these observations to our argument.

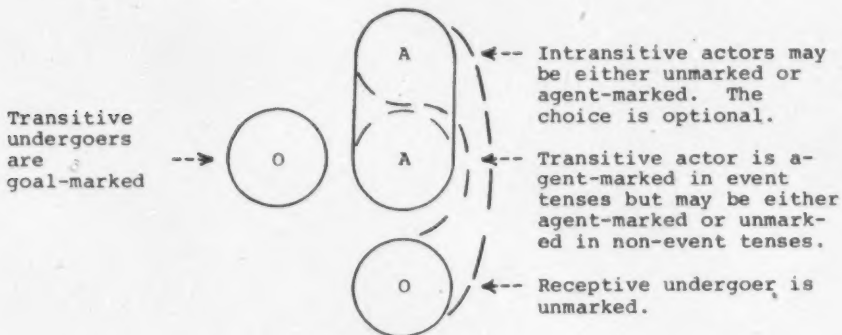
⁶In terms of Fillmore's discussion of Sapir's typology of pronoun forms, the most common pattern in the languages of this report is that of Takelma:



*In certain languages agent marking is limited to certain combinations of tense and person. Where these combinations do not obtain, actors are unmarked. This pattern may possibly show a transition to Sapir's Paiute type.

**Goal-marking of undergoers is very often optional. Where undergoers are pronouns, however, goal-marking is almost universally obligatory.

Western Tamang is unusual among the languages represented here and may actually be in transition between a Takelma type system and some other type. Tamang's present configuration constitutes a type which is not included among Sapir's types.



⁷For the Chepang examples used in this paper we are indebted to Ross Caughley.

⁸The Nepali examples used in this paper are taken from Bandhu, 1973.

⁹For the Magar examples used in this paper we are indebted to Gary Shepherd.

¹⁰Watters, 1973, page 97.

¹¹For the Sunwar examples used in this paper we are indebted to Dora Bieri and Marelene Schulze.

¹²For the Sherpa examples used in this paper we are indebted to Burkhard Schöttelndreyer. Many of them have been taken from Schöttelndreyer, 1972.

¹³For the Jirel examples used in this paper we are indebted to Esther Strahm and Anita Maibaum.

¹⁴For the Tamang examples used in this paper we are indebted to Doreen Taylor. Many of them have been taken from Taylor, 1973.

¹⁵Jirel constitutes an apparent contradiction of this statement. In Jirel, the goal marker is -la. It has two uses. It may be used to mark a locative site and it may be used to mark an undergoer. It is thus possible to have two occurrences of -la in a given clause.

'the-ki phi-ja-la 'sa-laq 'jyaksung
he-Agt child-Gol ground-Loc put
He put the child on the ground.

Under pronominalization, however, the two kinds of -la behave differently. The undergoer retains its goal marker but the locative construction is replaced by a locative pro-form.

'the-ki 'the-la 'thern 'jyaksung
he-Agt he-Gol there put
He put him there.

¹⁶The past conjunct form actually does occur with first person actors in Newari questions, but the question is then rhetorical. Thus, a clause such as

Jii saphuu khanā lā?

Did I see the book?

is to be interpreted as a denial. It is another way of saying 'I certainly did not see the book.'

¹⁷The verbal affixes -sung and -tuk in Jirel are both past disjunct forms. The affix -sung conveys the meaning of certainty, visibility, and proximity; -tuk conveys the meaning of uncertainty, invisibility, and non-proximity.

¹⁸The voiced prefixes *b- or *d- of Benedict (1972: 104, 111) may possibly be reflected in these verb pairs of Jirel and Sherpa. Sprigg (1954:153 ff.) lists similar pairs for Lhasa Tibetan, without, however any reference to their historical development.

¹⁹In Watters, 1973, the causative pxrin was also viewed as having the frame, actor, undergoer, locative site. Watters has changed his opinion at this point. The view presented here supercedes that of Watters 1973.

²⁰Further support of this analysis is found in the fact that the goal marker, -lay is optional at the first of the two examples cited but obligatory in the second. Goal marking in Kham is in general obligatory with goal-sites but optional with undergoers. Thus, the phrase glossed 'his dog' is an undergoer in the first example, but a goal-site in the second.